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The Week

ON April 27 we heard of the Germans on Kemmel Hill, of Ypres almost certainly lost, and the enemy storm heavy over the Channel ports. A week later we read of a British Cabinet Minister warning his countrymen against a coming peace offensive. And yet the intervening week witnessed no Waterloo and no battle of the Marne, though it may be that von Arnim's defeat between Ypres and Locre may be discovered some day to have borne even a greater significance than the considerable importance we attach to it now. What we are witnessing to-day in the spirit of the Allies is the natural rebound after the surmounting of a crisis, although "rebound" hardly describes the state of feeling. Without quite being aware how it happened, we find ourselves turning to the morning's headlines with an air of comparative indifference, prepared for the ordinary "local engagements" and "improvement of positions," where a week ago we snatched at the morning paper prepared for the worst. In this country, we have undoubtedly slipped into this tranquil stage behind the heavy barrage of the Loan campaign, which has given us little time for other things. Is the present state of mind one of unjustified confidence? By no means. Hard tests still confront the Allied armies; but the fact that refuses to be explained away is that in the seventh week of Germany's supreme effort the German army has been standing still and German leaders and newspapers have been beginning to explain things to the people at home.

FROM the French front a *Times* correspondent reports, "on the best authority," that Allied unity of command means not only the sole direction of operations and utilization of reserves by General Foch, but the complete fusion of the American, British, and French armies on the battle-fronts and in reserve. Events ever since the Italian collapse of last October have moved in this direction. The German offensive and the defeat of the British Fifth Army only produced the occasion for putting into formal effect a programme that not only had been foreseen, but was already working itself out. Months before March 21 the Allied front presented a motley which evidently demanded a single command for perfect coördination. We knew that the Americans were on the front in as many as five or six sectors. We knew of the Portuguese; the latter, it seems now, were not only on the Armentières front, where they have suffered defeat, but from a chance remark by M. Henri Houssaye in far-off Buenos Aires, it appears that there were, or are, Portuguese in the Champagne also. We did not know of the Italians, though there is information now available that they have been in France for months. If one traces the Allied line now from the North Sea to Switzerland, it would run British - Belgian - French - British - French - British - American - French - American - French - American - French - Portuguese - French - American - French - Italian - French, with possible traces of Russian, Polish legionaries, Czecho-Slovaks, etc. Unity of command under the circumstances was imperative. It is a brick dike which has been built up against the German tide, with the French supplying more than half the brick and pretty nearly all the mortar.

THE British campaign in Mesopotamia has taken a rather surprising turn, according to latest reports. It seems that British forces have advanced northward from Bagdad and east of the Tigris River to within striking distance of Mosul. Several weeks ago another expedition was reported on the Euphrates, when last heard of, apparently advancing—after defeating a considerable Turkish army—towards Aleppo, the junction of the Syrian and Bagdad railroads. It seemed then as if the English objective were to cut off by one and the same blow both Mosul, on the one hand, and the whole of Syria, on the other, from communication with Constantinople. Nobody at the time imagined that the British had enough troops in Mesopotamia to strike at Aleppo and Mosul simultaneously. But this is apparently what they are doing now, and doing successfully. In that event, German-Turkish threats of a counter-effort either in Mesopotamia or Syria must be mere pretext. And therefore Jerusalem, for the present, would appear to be safe.

WHAT Zionists consider the first Jewish government in Palestine for over two thousand years, the Jewish Administrative Commission, arrived at Jerusalem on April 10. It is headed by Dr. Chaim Weitzman, and is composed of Jews exclusively, with the exception of an Under-Secretary of the British Cabinet, who represents the British Empire. Dr. Weitzman and his colleagues are officially recognized by all the chief countries of the Entente as constituting the nucleus around which the future administration of Palestine is to centre. The fact that these men come not as pilgrims, like their forefathers of Cyrus's day, suffering personal hardship and privation, but with all the modern sciences in their hands, engineering, chemistry, agriculture, to rebuild Palestine, does not rob the event of its picturesqueness, but rather adds thereto. Jews have had in mind a return to their homeland, these two thousand years, by an old-fashioned miracle of Divine grace. But the ways of fate are strange; and the return of the Jews will now be through all the machinery of a modern and highly organized state enterprise.

WITH Prussian electoral reform hanging in the balance, a review of recent democratic progress in other parts of Europe shows how strikingly Germany will contrast with her neighbors if the clock is set back, not forward. We may put Russia to one side. Sweden has just seen the downfall of the Conservative Ministry because it would not consent to a revision of the Constitution; the new Ministry is a reform Ministry, and the King's speech at the opening of the Riksdag, which included mention of woman suffrage and equality in the communal franchise, declared the necessity of "strengthening our people through extended political rights and far-sighted social reforms."

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During the war Denmark has completed the democratization of her Constitution. In Holland universal suffrage has been adopted under a plan which at last separates the voters' roll from the tax roll. In Rumania, Premier Bratiano announced last May the Government's decision in favor of universal suffrage and other reforms, and when peace is fully restored there is little doubt that just changes urged since the Congress of Berlin will be made. The struggle for universal suffrage in Hungary is steadily pushing the opposition back. Junkers like Count Spee may talk defiantly, but if they will only look outside their chamber they will realize—even thrusting the issue of the war out of consideration—what a Mrs. Partington rôle they play.

THE President should lose no time in making his opposition to the new bill to amend the Espionage act as clear as he did his repugnance to the bill to turn over all trials for sedition to courts-martial. That, he declared, would be to degrade us to the level of our enemies; even more so will this amendment to the Espionage act, for it goes further, we believe, than any similar legislation in force abroad—even in Prussia. It gives to the Postmaster-General life-and-death powers over the press of the United States. He may suppress, moreover, all sorts of agitation for reforms, and there is to be no appeal from his decisions. As the Washington correspondent of the *Sun* points out, the result will probably be the virtual establishment of a censorship so rigid that the newspapers will be compelled to ask for a daily revision of their articles by the Post Office—the last department in our Government which should be trusted with these powers. The proposal is a much worse one than that which the press of the country defeated last year.

NO one will accuse Senator Borah of lukewarmness in supporting the war. Yet he, like Senator Johnson, of California, and Senator Hardwick, of Georgia, bitterly opposed the bill which obviously makes a scrap of paper of the constitutional provision as to the freedom of the press. These are his words:

> It makes one man the sole judge of what constitutes aiding or discouraging the war, one man the sole judge of what is fair and just criticism and what is disloyal propaganda. He is not only the sole judge, but he may condemn to utter obloquy a citizen without giving the citizen a right to be heard. He may destroy his business overnight, stop his publication, ruin his property without taking a scintilla of real probative evidence.

We shall not believe until it happens that the author of "The New Freedom" will put his name to this measure, if only because of his political prescience. Mr. Roosevelt and the Republicans will rejoice if such an issue of freedom is placed in their hands—and in saying this we are quite aware of the eleven Republicans who voted for the amendment. When it becomes clear to the country that the Postmaster-General has the right merely "upon evidence satisfactory to him" to withhold all mail addressed to any citizen and to refuse to accept any for him, there will be, we believe, a great revulsion of feeling in this country. Finally, the bill strikes at every kind of reform movement of which officialdom disapproves. From what the Assistant Attorney-General, Mr. John Lord O'Brian, has written about the bill, it will even be construed to forbid any anti-lynching agitation among negroes, or any demand, during the war, for their political liberties.

STATE and national officials in Illinois have obtained the indictment of sixteen persons for the lynching of Robert Prager at Collinsville—twelve civilians for murder and four policemen for malfeasance in office. Better than that, by hard work at Springfield the Governor, the State Council of Defence, and agents of the Department of Justice have perfected a plan for crushing at the outset any similar mob outrages. The Council has ready for instant call 12,500 men throughout the State to meet disorder; a corps of investigators will be kept in the field and will be particularly alert in communities where feeling against alleged German sympathizers is running high; and Federal coöperation with the State has been arranged for in order to make prosecutions speedy and to protect them from improper local influences. This plan should commend itself to other States.

OUR actual output of shipping in April—240,000 tons—is impressive, for it shows that we have struck a shipbuilding pace faster than Great Britain's before the war. More impressive still is the rate of progress from month to month. In April we launched nearly three times as much tonnage as in January, nearly twice as much as in February, and one-half more than in March. It may seem something of a damper to be told that Government officials predict a minimum of only 4,000,000 tons for the year, but there is no harm in taking the cautious view. One specific caution may be ventured. We were recently told that an 8,800-ton steel ship had been launched in 64 days, and yesterday that a wooden ship had taken the water in 50 days from the laying of the keel. Chairman Hurley said a month ago that we should soon have 398 steel-ship ways, and 332 wooden-ship ways, or 730 in all; and we may hear impatient patriots demanding next fall why a ship is not coming from every way once in two months. As a matter of fact, Chairman Hurley computes that each wooden way will furnish one ship every six months, and the steel ways cannot make an average greatly better. To build one ship with all materials on hand, plans ready to the last bolt and nail, and a crew of picked men working under pressure, is a different matter from the steady production of hundreds of ships in new yards, with many hastily trained workers, and the possibility of delays in receiving materials.

JUST how much is meant by the orders placed by the Railroad Administration recently for 1,025 freight and passenger locomotives and 100,000 freight cars? Last year the railways of the country ordered an aggregate of 2,704 locomotives and of 79,367 freight cars; the year before 2,891 locomotives were ordered and 165,000 freight cars. During the past three years the average number of locomotives ordered has been 2,402, and during the past five years the average number of cars has been 117,242. But these have been years of railway depression, and the number of cars and locomotives has fallen so far below requirements that the deficit has long been recognized as urgent. Relatively, the order for cars is larger than that just made for locomotives. Yet the *Railway Age*, figuring upon the basis of 2,600,000 freight cars in service, estimates that there will annually "be required about 173,000 cars for replacements alone." It exhorts the railways to take action, stating that during January no cars whatever were ordered by the railways, though builders were never in a better posi-

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tion. One bright feature of the situation is that new locomotives are now being received in numbers sufficient to improve the situation greatly by summer.

WE have heard much about the commercial opportunities for the United States in Central and South America and our slowness in taking advantage of them. Some of our best-known writers, however, have not had to wait for an introduction. The *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union for March goes so far as to say that there would probably be no exaggeration in the statement that Prescott, Irving, and Longfellow are as widely read in Spanish America as in the land of their birth—"Prescott perhaps even more so." The two prose writers dealt with subjects of natural interest to our southern neighbors. But although "no Spanish-American would for an instant think of classing Longfellow with Prescott or Irving," his impress upon that region is deeper than that made by the older men. This is partly because he was a poet, partly because his metres and imagery lend themselves to translation into Spanish. Joaquin D. Casasus, Mexican Ambassador to Washington under Diaz, translated "Evangeline," his version beginning:

Esta es la selva de la edad primera.

A book of translations by Rafael Pombo, that appeared at Bogotá only last year, includes "The Arrow and the Song." When shall we know as much about a Latin-American author?

WHAT the war has meant to the British universities is strikingly suggested by the brief annual statement concerning the Rhodes Scholarships that has just come to hand. For the year 1916–17 twenty-five Colonials and thirty-two Americans were elected, of whom there came into residence three Colonials and twenty-seven Americans. For 1917–18, at the time of the report, out of a possible total of something more than seventy-five Colonial and ninety-six American scholars, there were in residence six Colonials and two Americans. Five of the six Colonials were medical students; of the two Americans, one had returned from a year's ambulance work on the French front and was temporarily engaged in Government work in the University chemical laboratory, while the other had been rejected, on medical grounds, for military service. The bare statement of fact is evidence enough of the patriotic fervor with which the selected youth of the United States and the British Empire are throwing themselves into the great struggle. It should also remind every thoughtful man how vitally important it is to make the work of the universities effective both now and hereafter.

THE movement to change the name of sauerkraut to Liberty cabbage opens long vistas. There are a great many comestibles with Teutonic nomenclature. Frankfurters might be changed to Lincoln sausage, Hamburger steak to Washington minced. Strudel might be transformed into Entente dumpling and gain in digestibility; German into Marne pancake, very appropriately. Hungarian goulash would seem better dubbed self-determination stew; Turkish delight, even though we are not yet at war with the Ottoman Empire, Tears of Armenia. Here is a large and comparatively harmless field of activity for Mr. Creel and his corps of young men.

An Independent College of Political Science

HOW can our university faculties of political science achieve and maintain intellectual and spiritual leadership in the vast tasks of social reconstruction now facing us? By securing a position of unquestioned independence and by developing methods adapted to the new needs. Realizing the high responsibility of the university teacher, a group of thoughtful and far-sighted men and women announce the launching of a profoundly important educational experiment, the establishment in New York of a college of political science founded on principles new and distinctive in our university life. Emphasizing the absolute necessity of first-hand knowledge in such fields as corporation management and control, labor organization, city, State, and national administration, and international relations, they hold that in all these lines of endeavor scientific methods and independent research must be applied to the changing social order. The ideals, problems, and methods of all classes must be studied and interpreted to the whole country. Hence they would bring together representatives of all classes for purposes of frank discussion within the college.

The existing universities, unfortunately, cannot perform this task with full effectiveness. Working under the legal control of boards composed largely of business men, or of governors politically chosen, burdened with the instruction of great masses of immature students, and carrying a great load of administrative machinery and traditional methods, they have difficulty in providing the surroundings in which the frank discussion of existing social conditions with a view to their radical reconstruction, if necessary, can be easily and effectively carried on. Hence the need for a new institution in which those who are to reach the truth as they are given to see it have full control over the appointment and dismissal of professors, and are thus known throughout the country to be controlled only by their sense of responsibility for the correctness and fairness of their views. At the same time these men may thus be free to develop new methods.

The plan itself is simple. It is proposed to secure from the various universities of the country a corps of selected specialists in the several branches of social science, relieve them from administrative responsibilities, grant them self-government, and set them free to investigate, publish, and teach. An endowment or guarantee fund of $150,000 a year for ten years (already largely secured) will be spent: "90 per cent. on brains and 10 per cent. on administration." The faculty will elect the board of trustees, and will also appoint and dismiss its own members. In other words, the professors will have complete self-government and will be responsible to nobody but their colleagues and the truth. While the school will have a secretary to attend to registration and collect fees, the usual administrative machinery will be reduced to the vanishing point. The projectors believe it mostly irrelevant to their purpose.

There are to be no formal "departments" within the college, and all courses of instruction are to focus upon the issues of current life. Accordingly, instead of bending the world to suit the categories of the university, this institution proposes to adapt its instruction to the needs of

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the present situation. There will be seminars and other courses leading to degrees for specially equipped students; field work in public administration and commercial lines; special lectures by distinguished leaders of thought from abroad as opportunity offers; popular lectures at school and other centres for organized labor and others desiring information on current issues. It is conceived that there may be no fixed curriculum; the "courses" as well as the lecturers may vary from year to year. Flexibility, adaptation, freedom, experiment, approach from the angle of social need, not of rigidly organized and classified intellectual formulas—these are to be the marks of the instruction.

It is hoped to introduce among the students the same freedom and coöperation as among the faculty. No elementary instruction of immature students will be undertaken; humdrum drill, with its paraphernalia of grades and marking and reports, can consequently disappear. Candidates for the higher degrees will be given a chance to prove themselves in seminars, and, if worthy, will be retained, but the work of professors will not be to grind academic machinery, and that of students will not be merely to do assigned tasks. It is hoped to make the college building a centre of constant social and intellectual give and take between professors and students, and among students as well, so that the whole organization may be a genuine university of social science, seeking the truth of social relations with a view to the progressive reconstruction of social life. The plan is, moreover, to bring in the captain of industry, the labor leader, the local alderman, the Senator from Albany or Washington, and offer each one a part in the give and take of discussion.

Into the details of this fascinating plan we cannot enter. We can attempt to indicate only its purpose, spirit, and general method. The whole plan, of course, will be bitterly assailed by all the weapons that misunderstanding can devise and malice can invent. Already we can hear the chorus of objections swelling from a hundred voices. What! Turn a batch of professors loose to think and teach what they will, with no one to control them? They will propagate every abominable heresy under the canopy. Run a college without a president? Within thirty days it will fall to pieces of its own centrifugal force. Manage an educational institution without a rigid curriculum and automatic machinery for moving the student on from point to point? "Standards" will fall with a hopeless crash, and students will come to accumulate degrees as children gather blackberries. We can anticipate a thousand fatal objections that will be promptly brought forward by all those who have not the imagination to conceive of anything different, and by all those who have an interest to discredit the new enterprise and cause it to fail. From the standpoint of vested wrong and intrenched injustice nothing is so dangerous as thought about existing conditions. We confidently count on the prompt hostility of the privilege mongers and all their parasites, whether the latter be found in the pulpit, the university, the press, or the legislature.

But privilege mongers and parasites are the exception and not the rule. No less confidently do we count on the prompt and solicitous interest of a select body of far-sighted business men; these men realize that the salvation of this country depends on its ability to utilize to the full expert brains in the service of democracy; they will recognize that this plan gives promise of such a result. We count on the instant and sympathetic response of the great body of men in the pulpit, the university, the press, and the legislature; they will hail this experiment, not for its immediate results alone, but for its potentialities in giving our scholars in social science the opportunity of bringing about that discussion whereby democracy must live. The *Nation* has repeatedly insisted that the highest interests of a democratic state imperatively demand the magnification of the functions and influence of its university men. This experiment is rich with promise in that direction. We believe that we voice the sentiment of the great body of the academic community, as of the friends of democracy everywhere, in recording our gratitude to those who have conceived and made possible such a bold and far-reaching plan. May all wisdom attend them as they carry it to fruition.

The Aims of Labor

A DIFFICULT task of the real statesman is to judge the actual direction and power of the new forces that from time to time make their appearance in political life. The war has released tremendous revolutionary energies; one of the strongest and sanest appears to be the British labor movement. We are accordingly grateful for Arthur Henderson's little book, "The Aims of Labour" (B. W. Huebsch); 50 cents), which will enable any intelligent person in an hour's time to get a clear understanding of what its leaders are actually aiming at.

"Equality," says Mr. Henderson, "is the great human formula of the coming era of revolutionary change." Again, "It is time that we should begin to think not only of the great social and economic changes that are to take effect in the coming period of reconstruction, but of the methods and means of securing them." Equalitarianism, with an eye forever on practical means—in these words we may perhaps sum up the movement. The economic basis of the scheme is clearly revolutionary. "One of the main aims of the party is to secure for every producer his (or her) full share of those fruits [of industry]—and to insure the most equitable distribution of the nation's wealth that may be possible, on the basis of the common ownership of land and capital, and the democratic control of all the activities of society." At the same time there is no narrow Marxian philosophy about the doctrine. "We are casting the net wide because we realize that real political democracy cannot be organized on the basis of class interest."

Given effective social control of the economic fundamentals, the Labor party will demand: first, a series of national minima, designed to protect the people's standard of life, with guarantees as to wages, employment, leisure, and the like; second, democratic control of industry, with abolition of the wage system, through common ownership of the means of production (hence resistance to every proposal to hand back to private capitalists industries and services that have come under Government control during the war); third, a revolution in finance, designed to bring about "a system of taxation regulated not by the interests of the possessing and profiteering classes, but by the claims of the professional and housekeeping classes, whose interests are identical with those of the manual workers"—a system intended to prevent the accumulation of great fortunes and to discourage individual extravagances; fourth, the use of surplus wealth for the common good, through education, development of science and art, public provision for the

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sick and infirm, and similar measures. These proposals are revolutionary, not because they mean force and violence, but because they signify fundamental changes in the social basis. Our first business is to understand these demands. The British Government faces them to-day; we may face them to-morrow, for while Mr. Gompers and his immediate associates can apparently see nothing larger than a quarter a day more pay, it is preposterous to imagine that with such ideas as these stirring the British labor world the American movement can for long remain in its present besotted state.

As to the war, Mr. Henderson is unequivocal. The Allied peoples are fighting "the ambition to world domination, the worship of militarism, and the belief in brute force as a proper instrument of policy. But security will not be attained by this soulless policy merely changing its nationality from German to British or French or that of any of the Allies." Security is to be had, not by military victory alone, but "only by the kind of peace settlement which is made after she (Germany) has been completely frustrated." Hence a repudiation of all idea of territorial conquest and of economic domination. Hence self-determination for all peoples capable of it, and for those incapable, administration by an international commission acting under direction and control of the proposed League of Nations. Hence no economic boycott after the war; "all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalistic trusts or monopolies, lead inevitably to the exploitation of the working classes." "We desire a victory," says Mr. Henderson, "which cannot be won wholly by the armies in the field. . . . Victory for the people means something more than the continuance of the old system of production for the profit of a small owning class, on the basis of wage slavery for the producing classes." We ought not to lose sight of the revolutionary aim that animates much labor support of the war.

What, then, is the temper in which British labor, already conceded to be within grasping distance of actual political control, is pushing forward its subversive ideas? Mr. Henderson is quiet, but suggestive. "Everywhere the peoples are becoming conscious of power. They are beginning to sit in judgment upon their rulers." "It would be idle to deny that the temper of democracy after the war will not be so placable as it has hitherto been." The war has filled the world with men accustomed to the thought of attaining their ends by violence, and habituated to the use of modern arms. "By peaceable methods, or by direct assault, society is going to be brought under democratic control. And the choice of the method does not primarily rest with democracy; it lies rather with the classes who own the machinery of production and control the machinery of the state to decide whether necessary changes are to be peaceably introduced on the basis of willing coöperation, or resisted to the last ditch." This is the quiet voice of one conscious of power. We believe that in this particular Mr. Henderson fundamentally is right; the question confronting us is not *whether* the economic and social organization shall be democratized, but *how* it shall be democratized. The ruling and possessing classes, in our judgment, have nothing to say as to the first question; they have everything to say as to the second. Will they play the part of Canute, and thus choose the method of bloody and forcible change, with anarchy as the possible outcome, or will they have the wisdom, the far-sightedness, the patriotism, and the courage to choose the method that will make democratization a blessing and not a curse?

To work out the latter method is the supreme task of education. College and university ought to rise to the challenge. Our great business men, to whom we have the right to look for effective leadership, ought to brace themselves to the task of reconstruction; for we need their brains, their intelligence, their knowledge, and their practical sense. We do not by any means endorse *in toto* the programme of British labor; but we do heartily subscribe to its spirit, and, in a broad way, its method, because we believe in a steadily growing, broadening, and intensifying democracy, in a world that is to become internationally more and more interdependent, and because we believe in the method of progress through adjustment and discussion, and not through force. Therefore, Mr. Henderson's little book, with its appendices giving in full British labor's war aims and report on reconstruction, "Labor and the New Social Order," seems to us an extraordinarily valuable contribution to the great debate that is inevitably going to follow the war. We wish that it might be read by every American citizen.

Bedfellows of War

FEW, we are sure, can read the almost daily appointment of "Big Business" men to high office under the Wilson Administration without mingled feelings. To some, it is true, the calling in of captains of industry like Charles M. Schwab, Edward R. Stettinius, and John D. Ryan is a cause for unmitigated satisfaction; in Wall Street certainly their selection gives unqualified joy. In all business circles there is doubtless relief that practical men, conversant with large affairs, have been summoned to the nation's councils, for there has been an honest feeling of unrest that affairs involving billions should be in the hands of men who, like Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels, were without experience in large business enterprises. There has been a belief that the Administration has been needlessly amateurish in a situation of a magnitude so staggering as to be literally overwhelming. Now, from the purely technical point of view, the placing of Mr. Schwab at the head of the country's shipbuilding is admittedly one of the greatest steps taken to defeat the Germans. His extraordinary energy, ability, and resourcefulness make him in the *Nation's* eyes the man best fitted to direct the construction of ships at this hour.

Yet we cannot deny that a feeling of amusement mingles with our satisfaction—amusement at the strange turn of affairs which the whirligig of fate has brought about, for this is the same Charles M. Schwab who has been portrayed to the country as a robber baron, coining such a large fortune out of the making of armor for the navy as to render it essential last year for Congress to establish its own armor plant in West Virginia without waiting to see whether the war would bring in its train disarmament or the scrapping of battleships. For more than a year Mr. Schwab refrained from going to the city of Washington lest his presence be misconstrued as an endeavor to lobby against the Administration, which he did, however, honorably oppose by costly advertisements in the newspapers. Moreover, Mr. Schwab is on both sides of the fence, for he is constructing three-quarters of our great new fleet of

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destroyers, and may even as a Government official have the awarding of new contracts to his own shipyards. If politics makes strange bedfellows, what shall be said of war? Here is the Wilson Administration, which, during its first term, positively declined to have any relations with anybody tainted by Wall Street, cheek by jowl with the men it fought and denounced for so long, opposition to whom was the platform which led to its being given charge of the nation's affairs. To have suggested in 1913 that the day would come when Henry P. Davison would be a welcome visitor in the White House on any matter would have been to write oneself down a lunatic or worse, for it is an open secret that in those days no member of the firm of J. P. Morgan could obtain an appointment at the White House no matter what his business. There is a story of a partner of the firm who complained bitterly that if he was to be denied the White House as a tainted person, the Government at least ought to put him on trial and prove wherein he was an enemy to the country; at any rate, he thought, the Treasury ought not to count upon his firm for any aid in matters financial. But that is long since forgotten; the old feuds which broke out when Mr. McAdoo took office are for the moment healed by the war and the necessity for financing it. Had anybody prophesied in 1914 that Mr. Wilson would turn over national supervision of aircraft production to John D. Ryan, who typifies to all reformers in Montana the most dangerous "Big Business" control of the State in the interest of the copper kings, he would surely have been in danger of police arrest. Similarly denounced would have been the suggestion that Bernard Baruch, one of the heaviest plungers in Wall Street, would bask in the high favor of the man who indited "The New Freedom" as a clarion call to the country to rid itself of the very sort of thing which Mr. Baruch and the others named have typified. But the fact remains that the President has now changed his policy, which was at one time so extreme that he would not permit any of these men to come into his presence.

Undoubtedly this is one of the results to have been expected. In every country in this war men of nearly every type have buried the hatchet to help the Government, and it is an interesting fact that up to this time it is the conservatives and reactionaries who have forged most rapidly to the front, patriotism being always one of their specialties. The President certainly could not deny to "Big Business" men their right to share in the responsibilities of the hour. As it is, he has not yielded grudgingly, but has cheerfully and freely called upon them to come and help, and he saw, *mirabile dictu*, nothing out of the way in selecting the senior partner of a Wall Street bond house to head the new finance committee appointed by the Government to deal with private financing during the war. Surely no one can accuse him hereafter either of discriminating against a set of business men, of turning his back on experts, or of being narrow-minded and cherishing his business dislikes.

A recent writer in *Collier's Weekly*, in discussing Mr. Wilson, prophesied that after defeating those critics who rallied around Senator Chamberlain in the attack upon him and Secretary Baker, the President would then promptly go ahead and do the very things his critics wished him to do. He fortified his prophecy by many illustrations to prove that this is part of Wilson's political philosophy, and he was right in both the prophecy and the illustrations. The President has acted as the writer said he would act. He is disarming his critics by doing in his own quiet way precisely what they wished to compel him to do by legislation. One of their cardinal criticisms was that theorists were in charge of the Government, and not practical business men who had employed labor by the hundred thousand. If any one rises now to make such a charge against the leader of the nation, Mr. Wilson has evidence to the contrary in plenty for their immediate refutation. As to the effect that this change of policy will have upon both our business life and our political contests after the war, time alone will show. But if any future Woodrow Wilson arises to write another "New Freedom," the captains of industry will have a forceful answer as they point to their patriotic and valuable service in war time. As to Mr. John D. Ryan, for instance, a ready defence will hereafter be, when he is assailed as the dominating tyrant of Montana: "How can that be when the President entrusted to me the task of winning the mastery of the air for the United States?"

Sedition Laws and Juries

WHILE Congress is still occupied with the details of a Sedition bill supplementing existing legislation and intended, by its comprehensiveness, to supply such "teeth" as may be missing in earlier laws, the Senate Judiciary Committee has reported favorably still another bill, dealing this time with dangerous organizations. The bill declares unlawful:

> Any association, one of whose purposes or professed purposes is to bring about any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change within the United States, by the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury, or which teaches, advocates, advises, or defends the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, to accomplish such change, or for any other purpose, and which, during any war in which the United States is engaged, shall, by any means, prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advise, or defend.

The penalty for belonging to such an organization, or propagating its doctrines, is fixed at ten years' imprisonment and a fine of $5,000.

One cannot study the careful phraseology of this proposal without feeling the same doubts which the earlier Sedition bill raises concerning the necessity of multiplying legislation against what the law already prohibits; unless it be simply in the severity of the penalty threatened. Summarized, this bill against associations provides that any organization which advocates the use of force, and which, in time of war, shall attempt to apply such principles, is unlawful. To the ordinary reader this is much like a new bill against associations advocating the practice of burglary or counterfeiting, especially in war time. A new piece of legislation is justified when it deals with a new problem or supplies more adequate machinery for dealing with an existing problem. Is it the intention of the framers of either of the bills in question to define a new crime or to suspend certain fundamental principles of judicial administration in order to facilitate the punishment of crimes already defined? One can hardly say so from the wording. The earlier Sedition bill was severely criticised on this very ground that it threatened existing guarantees for the liber-

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ties of the subject, and it has accordingly been revised with a plentiful admixture of "wilfuls" and "intents" to meet such objections. So the present bill, by its insistence on the "purpose" of illegal organizations, recognizes that element of "intent" upon which so much depends in any trial before judge and jury.

In that case, why the need of piling sedition law upon sedition law? In the last resort it will come down to a question of convincing a jury that a person or group of persons have wilfully set themselves to oppose the successful prosecution of the war. As a matter of fact, we have a sharp contradiction between the excuse usually given for the need of such legislation and the wording of the new bills. It has been said that judges have refused to charge guilt, and juries have refused to convict where the case against the defendant was clear. But how will a multiplication of legal verbiage bring a disloyal court and jury to a sense of duty? If, indeed, the state of public sentiment is such that the Government cannot get on with the elementary and traditional machinery of a free people, the only logical step is to do what the recent Chamberlain Court-Martial bill set out to do: to suspend civil guarantees and bring in the rule of the military. The fate which swiftly descended upon the Court-Martial bill shows that the country is not yet in that desperate situation.

Actually, what has been the behavior of courts and juries in trials for sedition in various forms? The Department of Justice recently announced that some 3,000 convictions have been obtained. An impatient public opinion, under the heavy strain which the war situation has brought upon all, overlooks the workings of the law and sees only its "failures." To this we can only say, that of infinitely greater danger to the country than the refusal of a jury to convict, even if it involves a miscarriage of justice, is the spirit which seemingly demands that it is the sole duty of a jury to say "yes" to any and every indictment for sedition. The war will not be won by succumbing to the spirit which is already too manifest in demands for standing people up against a wall. But something very precious and vital in the life of a democracy may easily be lost thereby. In the recent *Masses* trial in this city the jury failed to agree. Thereupon the *Tribune* demanded a Federal investigation into the conduct of the two members of the jury who were reported to have held out against conviction. We cannot see why the *Tribune* did not go further and demand the indictment of these two jurors for sedition.

If the purpose of piling up sedition laws is to create a public atmosphere in which juries shall find it more difficult to live up to their judgment and conscience, such laws are vicious. Otherwise they are hardly necessary. We know that the mind of the country is such to-day that disloyalty proved in court will be punished. But it may be asked, what harm is done by a bit of superfluous legislation? Well, there is very real harm to the extent that this practice encourages the national vice of believing that the whole duty of a civilized government is in putting laws on the statute books. A vast enthusiasm for new laws and a vast indifference after their enactment is very much the American of it. But even then what harm? No harm perhaps in peace times when laws are passed amidst acclaim and forgotten. Great harm when, in war time, laws cannot be passed without arousing fears and irritations, and to no clear purpose.

The Failure of the Intellectuals

By HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER

THE outbreak of the war in 1914 was a triumph of militarism in European civilization: that all men know. But all men do not see with the same eyes what were the forces leading to internationalism over which this militarism triumphed. It triumphed over the frail barriers of European diplomacy and the weak fortifications of international law, symbolized by The Hague—but who expected these to hold against a will to power? It triumphed over the economic bonds of industry and trade, whose symbol is banks and gold—but surely it is a fatuous estimate of the human soul which rests its hope for peace upon its love of gain. It triumphed over the communion of religion, symbolized by ecclesiastical Rome—but when has the Church kept Christians from one another's throats? All these forces were discounted by the wise—slender reeds of support!—but there were still two elements of cohesion upon which men less consciously, but more convincedly, relied for the preservation of the integrity and sanity of the civilization of Europe, and it was the failure of these two that made the bitterest disillusionments of the earlier hours of the war.

The first of these was the spirit of the International Workingmen's Association. Labor has always been the least articulate of the great forces in society; but in recent years it had formulated a faith in the fraternal relationship of the inarticulate masses of all countries vividly enough to impress the world with its reality and strength. It was a prime article of this faith that the masses of the different nations would not (at the command of the classes) slay one another; and even while bourgeois and aristocrat ridiculed, a dim reliance was placed upon this profession. Nay, it is more than probable that a moving cause of the war was the determination of militaristic oligarchs to kill this profession before it should have gained such conscious definition as to rob them of their power; in other words, the pacifism of the International and its socialistic offshoots was an actual cause of the war. The event shows that the militarists were too late, at least in Russia, to save themselves, although they were timely enough so far as ruining the world was concerned. Possibly the spirit of the International may yet assert itself redemptively—if first it gain articulation and discover within itself something of that generosity and nobility without which no faith can redeem.

But if the spirit of the International was the least articulate, that of the intellectuals was the most articulate of the great professions of European culture. It is the very business of art and science and scholarship to express themselves, and to an international audience and for an international understanding; and there was no solidarity of Western civilization so pretentious as that of its intellectualism. When the leaders (for the intellectuals proclaimed themselves leaders) of all the great nations were masters and pupils to one another, how could there be—so it was imagined—a disruption of so bonded a unity? So seated was the delusion that months after the war had bloodily blotted out all other interchanges, doctors and publicists were still sending manifestoes across frontiers, passing from justification to repudiation and finally recrimination and hatred,

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in the wordy battles that seemed suddenly so remote from men's affairs. One of the very earliest of these manifestoes was the utterance of the ninety-three German professors sent out to neutrals; and it was also the most damning of all to the pretensions of intellectualism.

For from the very first it was abundantly evident that the intellectuals—naturalists and historians and all—were merely the propagandists of a narrow nationalism. The high communion of art and scholarship and the admirable edifice of science which were the creations of the concerted devotion of many lives in many lands, and which were supposed and indeed felt by their devotees to be the symbols of a spiritual unity and fellowship, suddenly, under the strain of the partisan ambitions of a class whom the intellectuals thought themselves to hold in contempt, fell vacantly asunder—and in a moment the mind of Europe was shown to be hollow and void of all spiritual substance.

In the hour of strenuous physical conflict the full significance of this collapse cannot be realized; but in the long run it will assuredly be found to be the most vital blow which the war has inflicted upon the modernism of the Western world. There was nothing so distinctive of this modernism as the achievement of its intellectuals; this was our pet and pride, the show baby of our civilization. We had come, too, to regard it as our salvation and as embodying the whole grace and illumination of life. To see a thing so idealized distorted to grotesque abuse, and what had been proclaimed the saviour of humanity made the slave of man's corruption, this can end only in shock and revulsion and the gall of a bitter denial. It is therefore of high moment—lest we not utterly destroy in too greatly condemning—that we see the intellectualistic idol in its unfurbished truth, that we may discover its defects in season.

For there is a desirable salvage. I never read the "Meditations" of René Descartes—who is with an especial right the master of the moderns—without a renewed reverence not only for a man of such simple and conscientious honesty, but also for the truth itself. And I find in his immediate successors, in Spinoza the Jew, Locke the Englishman, Leibniz the German, the continuation of that same austere and inspiring truthfulness. But if—not led by the gradations of illusion to which surrender is so easy when one follows step by step—if a leap be made from the beginnings to the nineteenth century, how unspeakable is the descent! Philosophy becomes confused with its own cunning and deluded with its own shows, and at the end we have such embodied bombast as Herbert Spencer and such theatric lying as Ernst Haeckel dominating economics and politics and religion with their biological spells and materialistic incantations. Love of truth is lipped and praise of the spirit mouthed, but everywhere reason is made the apologist of prejudice and science the pander of appetite.

Consider for a moment the dogmas and tenets of the intellectuals. Foremost is naturalism, everywhere, in art and science and religion, fuming about realities and meaning sensation, and undertaking such monstrosities as the creation of a rational faith—an artificial religion! With this, and undoubtedly as a conceit growing out of the invention of machines, is the conviction of human self-sufficiency: the dignity of man, the rights of man, the prowess of man, the idolatry of man—and of woman. The two, compounded under the blessed name "evolution," unite into a fatuous dogma of progress, which is really only the fatalistic optimism of the irresponsible—like the chirping of crickets in Indian summer. That the Paradise of such a confession should be the materialistic bliss of fat meals and gaudy apparel, and that its ethics should resolve first into a consolation of vanity and thence into the cynical acceptance of the right of might is the sure effect of the drugging—as inevitable as the winter which ends the insect chorus.

The truth is, modernism suffers from a horrible vivisection of the soul, and its pæans to the intellect have been but praise of its own deformity. A soul which consists of mere intellect, with faith and hope and charity sheared away, is as helpless as a pigeon without its cerebellum; all steersmanship is gone, and its ideas are but empty ghosts twittering in a vacuum, ready to rush in a huddle at the first sacrifice offered, there to lap up the red blood. When in the modern world material enterprise set up the altars and, with capital jangling the castanets, politics prepared the offering, all the ghosts of science, art, and theology flew to the rites—seeking an interest, seeking a purpose, seeking a confession which might give them life and substance. The church talked social service and became a promoter of social clubs; art talked devotion to beauty and became a purveyor to mean appetites; science posed as the physician of human nature and concocted smooth formularies justifying the iniquities of the strong. The upper classes everywhere sank back into a kind of mawkish paganism, of which the most disheartening symbol is modern "higher education," huckstering off to capital the various brands of brains which it models to capital's use, and pointing with a vapid piety to the pillared porticos which capital rears for it—as if, by restoring the sacred precincts, Olympian Zeus could be made to live again.

It is small wonder that in this showy ritual labor has deemed itself to be the sacrifice—"the goat," as we say. And it is small wonder—though thrice a pity—that, inarticulate and unled, it has made itself greedy of the unnatural feasts of politics and capital. This was the ruin of the spirit of the International—greed of economic goods; in our own country it is the "interest" of labor; in Russia it is maximalism and the sottishness of self-lust. For the spectre which the Bolsheviki have raised is the proper Nemesis of our hypertrophied intellectualism: it is unreason and appetite incarnate answering reason and intellect discarnate. The man of the body politic has been deformed in all his organs and functions and his whole being is in revolt.

The war is a dreadful purge, applied to a sufferer in a desperate strait. We trust that it will carry away many ill humors from the constitution of mankind, but we know that at the best there must be a long period of anxious care before we can hope to see civilization restored and hale. In the broadest sense the problem of recovery is an educational one. A new ideal of human life will have to be discovered by those who see truest the meaning of the spiritual agony. A new schooling will have to be developed to enkindle in a fresh generation the light of this ideal. What is beyond lies on the knees of the gods. But of this much, at least, we may be sure: that the future will refuse to own any mere intellectualism, but will demand in its place (and we need not shun the word) a confessed spiritualism. The education of the future, in school and state, will instil with all its power that there can be no knowledge without responsibility, no realization of beauty without sympathy, no discovery of goodness without idealism. There must be faith of men, not in other men for their attainment's sake, but in the visioned Man, for his unattainment's sake.

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The Coöperative Movement

By JAMES PETER WARBASSE

THE coöperative movement aims to set people working together for their common good. It is based upon the natural human impulse of mutual aid, which is the most salutary force in society. Its purpose is to substitute cooperation for antagonism. This it proceeds to do through a democratic movement which invites all the people of the world to join it and to unite in administering their own affairs. It is making people their own storekeepers, wholesalers, manufacturers, bankers, insurance companies, mine owners, and administrators of their civic affairs. It is the movement which solves the problem of the high cost of living. If it is a utopian dream, it is a dream come true, for it is an accomplished fact. Its merit is that it is practical. Its philosophy is natural; its application is simple.

In looking over the whole field of human interests, we find one thing which is common to all human beings. They differ in religion, occupation, productivity, and habits of life, but *all are consumers*. All things of use should have for their ultimate destiny to be consumed, to go into the elements of society—to nourish, sustain, develop, beautify. Food, housing, clothing, art, recreation, and learning are the fundamental needs.

Coöperation is not difficult. The most important requisite is loyalty to one's fellow-men. A group of people, who are capable of fidelity, organize as a consumers' society to supply for themselves their simplest wants. They buy at wholesale in common such things as eggs, butter, fruit, vegetables, coal, meat, and coffee. They take for themselves the profit which had previously gone to the private merchant. Their society grows larger, and presently they run their own store and distribute to themselves their foodstuffs, clothing, and household goods. This is the simple and unostentatious beginning of an organization of infinite possibilities. The basis of such an organization must be democratic; otherwise it fails. The necessary share capital must be raised, preferably by the one-member-one-share principle. The essentials of success are: one member one vote, interest not above the current or legal rate, and returns to members based on the amount of purchases which each makes.

In the course of time, after a number of such societies have developed, they find their total amount of purchases so great that they can unite in the organization of a wholesale society, and thus take the next step and cut out the profit of the wholesaler. When still more societies have grown up and the membership has become sufficiently great, the wholesale society, instead of buying from the importer and manufacturer, imports and manufactures for itself. When this last step has been taken the economic problem is solved; the gamut is run; people are then producing and distributing for themselves, and are no longer at the mercy of competitive business.

Still, securing commodities at the cost of production is the least of the purposes of the coöperative movement. It aims at more important things. It takes advantage of the organization of people who have common needs and introduces insurance against sickness, death, unemployment, accidents, and old age. It provides pensions for motherhood, makes loans to members, carries families on credit in the event of sickness or unemployment, provides housing, recreations, clubhouses, medical and nursing care, hospitals, and sanitariums. Beyond this there is still a greater benefit which accrues to the coöperator. It is not alone that the things he needs are made more easily accessible to him; that he is freed from the dangers and costs of diseased and adulterated food; that he is spared exploitation by agencies of profiteering; that pensions, insurance, and housing are made possible for him; that recreations, art, and education are rendered accessible; coöperation does a greater thing than all these. It awakens in the soul of man a suppressed spirit. It makes him a coöperator. It takes hold of the fundamental and primitive instincts—to help one's fellow-man, to be kind, to be generous, to render mutual aid—and encourages them. It organizes a society in which people learn by practice that the concern of one is the concern of all, and that no man can cheat or be cheated without his neighbor also suffering.

In England in 1844 twenty-eight poor weavers with no better apparent destiny than the poorhouse organized the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, with a store with only four commodities, keeping open only in the evening. They had the vision and the philosophy. From that small beginning there has never been a recession now for three-quarters of a century. Year after year unfailing success has crowned the movement. To-day the coöperative movement in Great Britain embraces nearly one-third of the total population. For forty years the movement has been growing five times faster than the population has increased. During the war the increase has been ten times faster.

At the present time, the coöperative societies of Great Britain distribute nearly $1,000,000,000 worth of commodities to their members annually. The "profit" or, more properly speaking, the savings of their members amount to $100,000,000 a year. Of this amount $65,000,000 are returned in cash to the members in the form of "dividends." The British Wholesale Society supplies 1,200 societies. It owns its own steamships. It has fourteen great warehouses. It gives lavishly of its great resources for education. It gave $100,000 towards the construction of the Manchester ship canal, along which are its great flour mills. It is the largest purchaser of Canadian wheat. Its eight flour mills are the largest in Great Britain. These mills produce thirty-five tons of flour every hour for the people who own the mills. The largest bakery in the world is that of the coöperators of Glasgow. The British Coöperative Wholesale owns sixty-five factories. The soap works make five hundred tons of soap a week. The coöperators produce 4,000,000 pairs of boots annually. They conduct three great printing plants. Their creameries and farms produce vast quantities of dairy products, fruit, and vegetables. They have recently purchased 10,000 acres of the best wheat lands in Canada. They own their own coal mines. Their last purchase was the Shilbottle coal mine, bought only during the past year. They own 2,300 acres of tea plantations in Ceylon and vineyards in Spain. In Africa they control vast tracts of land for the production of palm olives, from which oil for their soap factories is procured.

These organizations of consumers—springing from the

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little society of Rochdale—now bring their own currants from Greece to be made into plum puddings in their own factories. The British coöperators now produce almost every commodity. Watches, furniture, tinware, machinery, foods of every kind, clothing, tobacco, chemicals, leather goods, corsets, and brushes are among their products. Their total output is five times greater than that of the private manufacturers in the manufacturing association. Their welfare work embraces almost every branch of human service. They conduct life-saving stations on the coast, and administer large funds for the relief of sufferers from famine and unemployment. Their banking department is next to the Bank of England in importance. One-half of the industrial life and accident insurance done in Great Britain is done by the Coöperative Society. Their life insurance business is carried on at one-tenth of the cost which the profit-making companies pay. Their methods represent the highest degree of efficiency. Their factories are the most sanitary, and the working conditions are the best in England.

The British Wholesale Society did a business of $217,000,000 in 1914; in 1917 it exceeded $300,000,000. The Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society is a federation of 264 consumers' societies. In 1916 it did a business of $75,000,000, manufactured $24,000,000 worth of goods, and carried a reserve and insurance fund of nearly $5,000,000. The British societies employ about 200,000 people. This vast business is carried on for the 20,000,000 people who are producing and distributing for themselves.

The Continental movement is still greater. Germany, France, and Italy have more societies and more members than England, Scotland, and Ireland. Russia before the war was weak in coöperative societies. But with the growth of the revolutionary movement the societies increased until the Russian movement has now become the greatest in the world. There are in Russia 50,000 coöperative societies, with 20,000,000 members. Upon the basis of the head of a household representing five people, this means 100,000,000, which is more than half the population. The People's Coöperative Bank in Moscow does a business of $1,000,000,000 yearly.

The Belgian coöperative movement is peculiar. The surplus savings are not returned to the members in the form of cash, but are employed for social-welfare purposes. These funds are used for doing for the members of the coöperative societies what the socialized state does for the people in Germany. Old-age pensions, life insurance, insurance against sickness and unemployment, maternity benefits, and medical and nursing care are provided. Those beautiful buildings in Belgium, "the houses of the people," are owned by the coöperative societies. They are community centres, used for meetings, dramatic presentations, forums, schools, and recreations. This movement of the people has been doing in a voluntary society what the political state in many countries is undertaking. In the first instance, the people control their affairs; in the second instance, the state controls.

In our own country the movement is far advanced. There are here about one thousand true coöperative societies. (The number of spurious organizations is legion.) The defect of the movement has been its lack of federation. Each of these societies has attempted to work out its problems alone. Failure is the price they pay for their isolation. This deficiency is now being met by a movement to amalgamate them into a consolidated organization. The Coöperative League of America, which carries on propaganda and a campaign of education among the societies, is promoting this work. Coöperation in no European country became an assured success until the scattered units were confederated; this will be the case here. Already a consolidation of the movement in this country is well advanced. There have in the last year been organized three wholesale associations by the groups of societies in three sections of the country. When the confederation of these societies is completed, we shall have here a movement which will astonish the world.

The mine workers of the Middle West, particularly in Illinois, have a virile movement. In that State alone are some sixty-five successful societies. The labor unions of the Northwest have a group of splendid societies. The group in western Pennsylvania and West Virginia embraces about fifty societies. Among these are many societies which own their own buildings and have accumulated substantial reserve funds. The Finns in the United States are practically all in the movement. They own not only their own buildings, but conduct a college and run a large publishing plant. They publish several daily papers, some weeklies, and a number of monthly magazines.

At its last congress the American Federation of Labor voted an appropriation for the promotion of coöperation among its unions and set on foot promising activities in that direction. The labor organizations furnish the best possible field for coöperative development, and it would seem that the movement in this country is destined to be associated intimately with the labor movement.

Coöperation is a great international force. The International Coöperative Alliance at its last meeting, the year before the war, had delegates from twenty-four countries. More than twenty countries had wholesale coöperative societies. Seven of these great national organizations have engaged in exchange of their products. It is now estimated that if the International Alliance holds its next congress in 1919, the movement will have 40,000,000 members, representing 200,000,000 people. The *International Bulletin* continues to be published with regularity monthly during the war and contains articles by Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Austrians, and Russians, all breathing the spirit of solidarity to the movement and to one another.

Coöperation, even in the belligerent countries, has made greater progress than ever before. Not only has it served the coöperators, but in Europe it has been the greatest of all forces, standing between the people and profit-making business. It has kept down prices and prevented profiteering by establishing standards in the costs of production and distribution.

A feature of coöperation is that it is peculiarly practical. It succeeds. When societies begin to produce for themselves, they are not producing for a problematical market; they know definitely what they want. Production is undertaken to supply a known need. There is no overproduction or underproduction. Smart salesmanship, advertising, short weights, and adulterated goods play no figure in cooperation. This is the movement which is capable of solving the problem of the high cost of living. Its affiliation with the labor movement is becoming closer every day. It is moving on steadily and without ostentation towards the solution of the problem. It is pointing the way to economic justice.

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"O. Henry"

By C. ALPHONSO SMITH

THE origin of William Sydney Porter's pen name, O. Henry, has not hitherto been established. He is reported to have said that he found it among the names of those listed in the *Times-Democrat* or the *Picayune* of New Orleans as attending some of the Mardi-Gras functions. This is improbable, inasmuch as he did not begin to write stories from New Orleans, but from Columbus, O., and it was in the latter place that he first used the now famous pseudonym. When asked once what the "O." stood for, he laughed and said, "Olivier," a few of his stories being signed Olivier Henry. I have always thought it possible that some clue to the name might be found, but I doubted whether, if the clue were reported from a book, the book would be one that O. Henry was known to have used, and used frequently enough to impress the name. All vestige of doubt has, however, been removed from my own mind by the following letter, which came to me a few weeks ago from Dr. Paul B. Barringer, a former chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia and later president of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Dr. Barringer writes from Charlottesville, Va., under date of March 17, 1918:

> At various times in my life I have run upon chemical analyses made by a Continental chemist who signed himself "O. Henry." While the substances under analysis were adapted to use in the Materia Medica, I had no idea until yesterday that the man was a pharmacist. In looking up the preparation of hydrocyanic acid in "The United States Dispensatory," found in the hands of every drug clerk in the United States, I found (pages 64 and 398) O. Henry twice referred to, in short search. Seemingly he was of Antwerp, as he wrote a good deal for the *Journal de Pharm. d'Anvers*, and also Paris pharmaceutical papers. In fact, I find his trail from 1833 to 1857, and he touched many of the lines a Southern drug clerk would be interested in, quinine, cinchonine, etc. Can it be possible that this short, crisp, unusual name, that hits the eye from the page, ever caught the eye of the young drug clerk, Sydney Porter, and stuck? O. Henry, it looks like a vocative. The edition of the U. S. D. that I used in looking this up was the seventeenth of 1894, but the dates show that pharmacist O. Henry has been in these editions from quite early.

Turning to the fourteenth edition of "The United States Dispensatory" (Wood and Bache, 1877), which O. Henry used when he was a drug clerk in his uncle's store in Greensboro, N. C., I find frequent references to "O. Henry" (see pages 308, 376, 1424, etc.), "Henry Jr.," "Henry Sr.," and "Henry." The later editions of the "Dispensatory" which the great short-story writer used in Austin, Tex., and in Columbus, O., contain the same references to the famous French family, and thus convert a surmise of origin into a practical certainty. When it is remembered that Will Porter had from early boyhood an unerring feeling for odd and arrestive names as well as faces, and that he was filling prescriptions from "The United States Dispensatory" when he first signed the name O. Henry to a short story,* the evidence becomes, it seems to me, practically coercive that here and here alone the pen name took its origin.

The man whose name has been thus strangely popularized was one of the most distinguished French chemists of the nineteenth century. Étienne-Ossian Henry, curtly abbreviated into O. Henry in the "Dispensatory," was born in Paris in 1798 (not, as Larousse has it, in 1793) and died there in 1873. Son of a distinguished father, Noël-Étienne Henry (1769–1832), and father of a distinguished son, Emmanuel-Ossian Henry (1826–1867), he has inscribed his name indelibly as analyst, discoverer, and benefactor upon the pages of his country's scientific annals. There are interesting sketches of his life in Larousse's "Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^{e} Siècle" (1873, Vol. 9) and in "La Grande Encyclopédie" (Vol. 19).

The latter says: "On lui doit de nombreux et importants travaux, qui ont particulièrement porté sur les eaux de rivière destinées à l'alimentation, sur les eaux minérales, dont il a analysé les principales et étudié les actions thérapeutiques, sur la sinapine, qu'il a découverte dans la moutarde, sur la quinine, la cinchonine, la conicine et la nicotine, sur les laits de vache, d'ânesse, de chèvre et de femme, qu'il a minutieusement comparés, sur l'urée, sur le tanin, etc. Il a aussi indiqué de nouveaux procédés de chlorométrie, de dosage en volumes de l'azote, de production industrielle de sulfate de quinine et du calomel en poudre. . . . Son fils, Emmanuel-Ossian, médecin à l'hôtel des Invalides, a publié deux ouvrages sur l'acide cyanhydrique et sur less eaux sulfureuses."

Am I mistaken in thinking that the French people will be interested in this link between our O. Henry and their Étienne-Ossian Henry? I am not mistaken, I know, in the thought that all Americans will be glad to group with the associations that already cluster about the name of O. Henry the added memory of the great nation whose innate nobleness has already enshrined it in the hearts of all free peoples and with whose sons our own sons are now standing shoulder to shoulder in the victorious battle for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

*See "O. Henry Biography," pp. 155, 169.

Foreign Correspondence

I. The Brussels Marionettes

PUPPET-SHOWS have always been a favorite pastime of the Flemings. There used to be a famous one at Antwerp, in a damp, gloomy cave, where by the glimmer of a few smoking oil-lamps the knightly adventures of Valentine and Orson, the sufferings of gentle Genoveva, the story of Dr. Faustus, and other matter from chapbook and mediæval romance were staged before a naïvely captivated audience. Conscience, the novelist, when a boy, often spent his last penny on a visit to the "Poesjenellenkelder"—the cave of the polichinelles—and gave in later life a humorous description of the performance he remembered best of all: the story of patient Genoveva. This underground survival of an old popular art was still alive, I am told, when the war broke out. What has become of it since I do not know. The Germans may have closed the vault from a just fear lest the puppet-show should be made the mirror reflecting to a seditious audience their own misery and a possible way of escape. If they have, the Flemings ought not to complain; for the high authorities in Brussels have supplied them with a substitute played themselves. Its répertoire, indeed, is less varied than the showman in the cave's mediæval one. It is always the same performance, the farce of "Flanders Saved by Germany." But its attraction is not so much in the play itself, which, being of German invention, is rather cumbersome and dull, as in the dolls that act in it.

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They are large as life and twice as comical. They have names of their own and bear sounding titles that add to their importance. "De Raad van Vlaanderen" is the name of this unique theatrical company, and this is the "tableau de la troupe":

Prof. Dr. Tack, President; A. Brijs, Secretary; Prof. A. T. M. Jonckx, Foreign Affairs; Prof. K. Heyndrickx, Home Affairs; Prof. Vernieuwe, Agriculture and Public Works; Prof. Dr. J. de Decker, Public Instruction; Mr. F. Heuvelmans, Justice; L. Meert, Finance; Dr. E. Verhees, Industry and Labor; Dr. A. Borms, National Defence; Prof. F. Brulez, Postmaster-General.

This original joke of introducing a new set of life-size marionettes as a Cabinet of Ministers has naturally been received with great hilarity. It brought the puppets no end of success, each of their performances, however dull the play, being hailed by roars of laughter. They have a theatre of their own at Brussels, but sometimes they give Berlin the benefit of an entertainment. One memorable day they were summoned thither to dispel by their comic antics the deepening gloom that darkened the last days of Herr von Bethman-Hollweg's Chancellorship. Their latest appearance before the public took place in Brussels and was thus reported by the Wolff Bureau:

BRUSSELS, January 20th. "The Council of Flanders, in its meeting of December 22, 1917, has unanimously voted for the independence of Flanders. In consequence of this vote, the Council of Flanders has resigned its mandate, which it received on February 4, 1917, from the Flemish Diet, in order to submit itself to a new election, by which the Flemish nation will be enabled to pronounce its opinion with regard to this vote."

Two days later one of the Berlin showmen came to Brussels to superintend a special performance of the puppets: Dr. Wallraf, the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, pulled at the strings, the marionettes executed a carefully studied kotow, and the ventriloquist behind the scene made them speak in their most comical vein:

"The Council, placing its trust in the German Emperor's expressed will to secure the free development of Flanders, looks forwards to the hour which will bring the Flemish nation the extension of its independence, and strengthen the position of the Council itself. We abide with firm confidence the taking of such measures as will give us certainty about our fate and make it clear to the enemy that Germany will respect and guard the autonomy of Flanders. We come to you with the reverent and urgent request to insist with the Government of his Imperial Majesty and with the representatives of the German nation that they may take a decision which will justify our people's trust and hope."

That sounds like a new version of the old play of Genoveva, which the boy Conscience saw enacted with such glee: The King of Belgium, even as the Duke of Brabant in the old legend, is gone to war, leaving the German occupant, like another Golo, in charge of the realm. Golo, to revenge himself on Genoveva, who had scorned his offer of illicit love, accused her in a letter to the Duke of the very crime which he had in vain urged her to commit. Even so, the German Golo, having failed, in the king's absence, to win the love of the Flemish nation, sends by means of the Wolff Bureau a slanderous message to her lord, representing her as being guilty of disloyalty. The last act is still rehearsing and is probably destined as an entertainment for the distinguished gathering of diplomats who will one day meet to negotiate peace. It will be an exact copy of the final act of a similar play recently produced in Poland. In it the puppets will declare before that high audience that they represent the Flemish nation, which, having reëlected them by a free and uncontrolled plébiscite, has clearly expressed its wish to become an independent nation under German protection. The wire-pulling ventriloquist evidently takes his diplomatic audience for even more naïve than Conscience described the penny-a-seat visitors of the Poesjenellenkelder. Those recognized the traitor in Golo from his first entrance upon the stage and sided with the faithful Genoveva all through the play. But the Berlin showman entertains a fond hope that the choice spirits whom his dolls are to address will be imposed upon by the farce and decry the Flemish Genoveva for an unfaithful wife who fully deserves her mock freedom under Golo's relentless rule.

A. J. BARNOUW

The Hague, February 15

II. Japan at the Crossroads

IT seems as if it could not be without some significance that Japanese writers in newspaper and magazine have been emphasizing the fact that Japan is in a critical position, "at the parting of the ways." The first writer to warn his countrymen was Marquis Komura, son of the late Marquis Komura who achieved so much distinction as a diplomat. He contributed an article to a magazine entitled *Yuben* (Eloquence) and made an earnest appeal to the young men of Japan to face the important and critical moment in her history. He said that, in the midst of war prosperity, many were prone to neglect thinking seriously of the true position in which their country is now placed. He warned them that Japan has many difficulties to face, and that the nation is just now standing at a point where it has to determine its destiny. He stated that one of the greatest difficulties lies in the fact that Japan is misunderstood by both China and the Western nations; that Japan is no longer eulogized and flattered as a plucky little nation, but is rather feared as an aggressive Power. He pointed out that "the backbone of Japan's foreign affairs" is the Asiatic question, which is centred in China. Among other things, he wrote as follows:

> The present war is an unprecedented event for Japan as well as for the world at large. Especially significant is the fact that Japan is taking part in European affairs. Quite naturally after the close of the war, but even while the guns are still roaring and the bombs are exploding, small and great waves in manifold forms are surging around toward this country. And so Japan is now in this critical moment standing at the parting of the ways, where the future destinies of our Empire are at stake.

In conclusion, Marquis Komura earnestly appealed to the young men of the country to "prepare themselves to become worthy successors in the coming generation in realizing the noble ideals of the nation."

A similar warning was sounded in the columns of the *Japan Advertiser* by a well-informed young Japanese, writing under the nom-de-plume "Saito Man." He depicted the Japanese as leading "double lives, half native and half foreign." He described at some length "the most mingle-mangle spectacle" of various styles of architecture and the amusing conglomeration of sign-boards; he poked fun at the motley costumes and the most bizarre fashions, in which

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BEREA, OHIO

Eastern and Western styles are mixed in a most ludicrous manner; he dwelt upon the double houses, with both Japanese and European parts; and he ridiculed the complexity and heterogeneity of the food problem, because, in that case, there is a triple life possible, by means of Japanese, Chinese, and European cuisine. He then went on to affirm that this chaotic mode of living is only a concrete manifestation of the inward chaos of the Japanese mind. "Methods of our mental and spiritual culture are now in a baffling confusion." "The Japanese of to-day are leading a double life mentally as well as physically." His final paragraph reads as follows:

> In short, though Japanese thought is in a chaotic condition, one can see on closer observation that the contestants are divided into two camps—those who advocate Japan's continued progress along the line of Western culture, as represented by such liberal thoughts as individualism and constitutionalism, and those who advocate the restoration of the old Bushido culture of loyalty to the throne, and Spartan simplicity and martial preparedness of the other day. To speak bluntly, the fight is between Liberalism and Militarism. To change metaphors, Japan is standing to-day at the crossroads, or rather she is leading a double life, being uncertain which to adopt and which to discard. But this confused and expensive national double living, both in body and mind, cannot be maintained for ever. It must end sooner or later. But when shall it cease? In my opinion, the issue of this silent thought-war in Japan will be largely determined by the issue of the European war. For in the eyes of Japanese thinkers the present European conflict is the test of the real worth of Occidental civilization.

It is quite evident that Japan is facing important decisions. For instance, what will be Japan's attitude towards the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which expires in 1921, and concerning which decision must be made not later than 1920? The answer to that question depends upon so many other contingencies, more immediate, that it may be postponed. Present surmises upon the subject are of comparatively little value. It should be kept in mind, however, as one phase of a larger problem, the relation of Japan to the Anglo-Saxon nations. On the other hand, what will be Japan's attitude towards German civilization?

It seems, to all outward appearances, that the worship of the German fetish, once so powerful and prevalent in Japan, is on the wane. It is true that individuals, in official, military, and educational circles, obsessed by the idea of the efficiency of *Kultur*, are inclined to regard matters from a German point of view and to favor German processes and measures. They have not recovered from the so-called attack of "German measles" in the eighties of the last century, when Germany was taken as the model for so many social and political institutions then being introduced into Japan.

Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that, in general, German influence is waning. Straws show which way the wind blows. Even in medical circles, where German methods were predominant, there is a change of sentiment. For instance, medical students are beginning to complain that, while the German language is important in their special line of study and of work, they are handicapped by their weakness in English, which they find is more generally useful. Students of German law make a similar complaint. They all recognize that, for narrow specialization, German has its place of importance; but that English is the practically universal language of the greatest general value. And the opinion is gaining ground that German *Kultur* may be less inspiring than Anglo-Saxon Culture.

The democratic trend here is another important sign of the times. I have already discussed "Democratic Imperialism in Japan,"* and need only say here that thinking Japanese are coming to realize more and more that democracy is not necessarily inconsistent with a certain type of imperialism. This democratic tendency is not likely to run to an extreme. In spite of the apparent popularity of socialistic ideas in the West, radical Socialism has not met with much sympathy in Japan. But a more moderate type of Socialism, inspired by lofty Christian ideals, has a growing number of followers, with an increasing influence, in spite of official repression. And so-called State Socialism prevails here to a considerable extent. It may be affirmed with good warrant that democratic ideas are spreading among the Japanese.

It must be apparent, even to the most casual observer, that Japan has come to a time and place of great moment. And, as Saito Man has pointed out above, the outcome of this world war will have a great effect upon the future of Japan. If the result of the war should be a stalemate, or a practical triumph of German *Kultur*, it would doubtless strengthen the hands of the militaristic and bureaucratic elements in Japan and would tend to repress the democratic movement here. On the other hand, the defeat of Germany would surely give impetus to the demand for the extension of popular rights.

Let me say, however, in conclusion, that it seems to me that Japan has practically made her decision already. She is a member of the Entente; she has faithfully performed, and is faithfully performing, all the duties required of her in the Far East, the South Sea Islands, the Mediterranean, and elsewhere, and is ready to perform, so far as practicable, whatever duties may be further allotted to her East or West. She has passed unscathed through the varied efforts of German propaganda to weaken her interest in the Entente cause and to detach her from her present alliances. She naturally does not harbor such intense feelings of hatred towards Germany as are held in England and in France; and she is still able to know and appreciate the good elements in German civilization. But, while Japan fails to harbor prejudice against Germany, she certainly seems to have enlisted in this great campaign against that *Kultur* with full comprehension of what it may mean to her.

And for this change of attitude Germany has herself to thank. For it is due largely to Japanese horror of the barbarous methods of warfare employed by the modern Huns. It must be said, to the everlasting credit of the Japanese, that, while they adopted German military institutions, they did not read into them the barbarities practiced by the Germans. With the one exception of the Port Arthur affair (for which there was unusual provocation), in the war with China, the Japanese have always been chivalrous foes. In the Boxer troubles, the behavior of the Japanese troops was in striking contrast to that of the Germans; and in the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese won the highest encomiums for their treatment of the foe. It is, therefore, not so incomprehensible that Japanese chivalry (Bushido) should find itself in more accord with French courtesy and Anglo-Saxon fair play. I am inclined to think that Japan at the crossroads is ready to take the path that leads to what will be practically an Anglo-Americo-Franco-Japanese Alliance.

ERNEST WILSON CLEMENT

Tokio, March 16

*See *Nation* of August 16, 1917.

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The Outskirts

By THOMAS J. MURRAY

I LOVE the edge of cities where the sweep
Of open country floods restricted eyes;
Where I may watch the purple twilight creep,
And harvest moons above the timber rise;

Where strident factory whistles faint afar,
Off where the city roars in minor tones;
To watch the morning foam across the bar,
Sweeping in crimson waves from sunrise zones;

At night to hear the drifting haunting calls,
When locomotives scream for crossings dim,
To see their fires upon the ebon walls,
As they fade swiftly on the night's far rim.

Correspondence

Mail for the Soldiers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since February 1, I have sent the *Nation* each week to an American soldier in France. A letter from him dated March 25 states: "I have received no copy of the *Nation*." Some letters and the *Army and Navy Journal*, with the same direction as the copies of the *Nation*, have been received, but much other mail has apparently been lost.

Is it not possible to do something to improve the present situation? ARTHUR H. WELLMAN

Boston, April 25

Lee's Way

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Referring to Mr. Charles E. Payne's eulogy of Robert E. Lee in your issue of April 11—when Lee's army invaded the North, he issued the following order of the day:

Any man who unnecessarily destroys property will be punished.

Any man who insults a woman will be shot.

R. O.

San Francisco, April 25

Our National Dish Overseas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter from Vernon Kellogg in your issue of April 18 calls to mind an experience of my family in England some twenty or more years ago.

For two summers we rented a country place about a dozen miles from London, "taking on" all the servants. On the first evening of our second summer the gardener called our attention with great pride to a patch of popcorn in the garden. Small ears had formed and showed some silk, but no ear had on it more than a half-dozen kernels of corn. Some evenings later there was an air of suppressed excitement through the house as the dinner hour approached, and it was evident something in the nature of a surprise was to be expected. The surprise materialized when one of the courses was served as a supposed "American dish"—some of those nubbins of corn cobs, served on toast, with a white sauce! E. LINDON MELLUS

Brookline, Mass., April 27

Peccavimus

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Edmund Burke in his speech on Moving the Resolutions for Conciliation with the Colonies said: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." The author of "Will Germany Disarm?" in the *Nation* of April 25 is rather ungracious to forget that the friend, Anglo-Irish, of the American colonies is the ultimate source of what is proving to most of the world a very hard saying. Our memories are perforce ironic these days; must our forgettings be so, too? JANE GAY DODGE

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 27

The Pulpit and Reconstruction

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Herbert's article on "The Pulpit and Reconstruction" lays bare the special weakness in most of the preaching to-day—a failure to apply ethical principles to the actual conditions of modern life. The church as a whole, in spite of exceptions here and there, is not preaching a real Gospel, one that can be applied to living problems. Too many religious meetings have degenerated into a pseudo-evangelism that resembles the ancient Oriental cults more than the teaching of the New Testament. As Mr. Herbert implies, the fundamental teaching of the New Testament is not an individual experience so much as it is a social message. The kingdom of God in human society, in government, in industry, in all social relations, is the important Christian idea. The church is slow to realize this. The sensationalism and weird doctrines of one of the great church leaders to-day—"Billy" Sunday, who will probably be elected moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly to be held in Columbus this month—have far more in common with the worship of the ancient god Mithra than they have with Christianity.

Unless the church proclaim a social message far more clearly and emphatically than it is now doing, it will not be an important factor in the reconstruction of human society. EDWARD C. YOUNG

Cleveland, O., May 3

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If the article under this title in your issue of April 25 had only its personal side, I would not undertake to reply, as, unfortunately for myself, I have never met Dr. Jowett. I feel safe, however, in saying that what is charged as his fault will, by many, be regarded as his crowning merit. The importance of this article is in its underlying conception of the relation the pulpit bears to that reconstruction to which all men of foresight are giving increasing attention. The writer's conception is quite popular and, for this reason, perhaps, ought not to be called curious or singular; but it is far astray from that which has given the Christian pulpit its place in the world.

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How far astray it is will appear to any one familiar with the various periods of reconstruction through which the Christian pulpit has been called to pass. To us, of course, our period overshadows them all because it is ours; but to those behind us and to those ahead of us other periods have borne and will bear as heavy a responsibility. Imagine the situation, then, if, in each age, the pulpit had been called on to produce and put into operation a programme of reconstruction! In the Apostolic Age, it is difficult for us to gather from the Gospels or the Epistles any sufficient idea of social conditions, much less of social remedies. In no age since has the Christian pulpit undertaken to lay down rules or to prepare programmes by which society shall reconstruct itself. The demand for this is to be met, in our day as in every other, with a prompt refusal. To countenance it would level the Scriptures, out of which the Christian pulpit draws its message, with the "Republic" of Plato and the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More.

The reason is apparent. Reconstruction, industrial, financial, political, social, is the task of human reason, conscience, and experience. Men of all faiths share in the responsibility, and there have been periods when the outstanding character in reconstruction was a man of no religious faith at all. No form of human government or social order is to-day theocratically prescribed. In this sense, *jure divino* has gone, let us hope never to return. The Christian pulpit has to do with the needs, the duties, the hopes which reason and conscience and experience can never meet. The confusion of those functions has been the undoing, not only of many "pulpiteers," but of various ardent reconstructionists. It is the fatal flaw in the schemes of social regeneration afloat to-day.

The pulpit, whether filled by Dr. Jowett or by his less distinguished fellow-ministers, has its place in the coming reconstruction, not as outlining the form or prescribing the principles, but as furnishing those non-self-regarding motives which alone will carry it through. Selfishness is the bane of progress, and before it our fine programmes all collapse. The Gospel of Christ, proclaimed in the Christian pulpit, is the one and the sufficient cure of selfishness, the one hope of real social progress, as the history of Western civilization shows.

Dr. Jowett, with his message of "comfort and reinforcement," has given his full share towards the coming reconstruction in that he has fortified his hearers for the sacrifices they must make. When his critics can promise motives as impelling and results as substantial, we shall be ready to consider their plans for the reconstruction of the Christian pulpit.

W. S. PLUMER BRYAN

Chicago, April 27

Materialism Will Win the War

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the article "The Press and the International Situation" in your number of March 21, the following strikes me as very significant:

"I think of no higher duty for the profession [the press—in these times] than that it shall dedicate itself to the ideals towards which President Wilson leads the world."

No one in our country fails to recognize, even without the assistance of the press, the righteousness of the ideals our remarkable President has brought forth since the very inception of the great war. Without any intention of criticising the editor's point of view, it is the writer's humble opinion that there are higher duties to which the press can dedicate itself at this critical time, in helping us bring on victory and liberty for the world.

The war is not going to be won by exploiting ideals, alluring and promising as they may be. Our brutal enemy is not going to be convinced into peace by our harping on ideals. Our idealistic programme to the Soviet Congress but recently was coldly received. Our materialistic and legal treatment of Holland's shipping, however, brings us nearer to winning the war. Let us not forget that the ideal ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome were wiped out by the brute force of barbarians.

The highest duty of the press to-day, in the writer's opinion, is a very materialistic one, such as keeping the masses of our people wide awake to the fact that their individual efforts, and the joint efforts of the unions, in the war-supply factories, in the fields, in the mines, in offices of all kinds, in the home—keeping them alert to the fact that every ounce of their efforts and energy of brain or muscle must be made to count if the war is to be won; every economy must be practiced, every sacrifice made. An open eye must be kept by the press on the mill-owners and manufacturers and shipbuilders and capitalists. By exercising this, their rightful prerogative, and by taking no political side during the war, the press will make of itself a winning factor and will aid our commander-in-chief and our Government to achieve victory for us and liberty for the world.

At the hard-won victory to come to us allied nations, at the Peace Conference, there and then, at that time, we shall force into fruition the ideals for which all of us to-day know we are fighting.

V. SYDNEY ROTHSCHILD

New York, March 28

Ruskin on Poison Gas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Semaine Littéraire* of Geneva, Switzerland, has just published an unknown letter of John Ruskin, addressed in 1830 to a young student in chemistry, Gustave Koekert, of the city of Calvin. In view of the prominent part played in the present world war by such products as poisoned gas and liquid fire, nobody can fail to appreciate Ruskin's words of warning. A copy of the letter follows.

ALBERT SCHINZ

Smith College, April 22

MY DEAR SIR:

It gave me the most unmixed pleasure to see your interest in all pretty and curious things, and I sincerely trust you will permit me to know you better, and share my own mineralogical fancies with you.—but I am much grieved that you are about to enter a chemical factory. I believe that the present action of chemistry in human policy is quite beyond all pardon or apology, criminal—that the continual discovery of poisonous and explosive substance multiplies beyond calculation the power of wicked and dishonest men and is fast putting out of sight and memory the eternally best processes of art and means of medicine.

If your genius lead you, however, you must of course follow and try to make Chemistry a sacred science in your application of it.

I am most truly yours,

J. RUSKIN.

Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire.

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BOOKS

Mutato Nomine

Illustrations of Chaucer's England. Edited by Dorothy Hughes. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. $2.50 net.

BELYING the lure of its title, this book, unlike the vivid volumes of Browne and of Coulton, is no revelation of Geoffrey Chaucer against the mottled background of his time and place, but simply a source-book of English history during the middle and later fourteenth century. And the prophetic glass of Dr. A. F. Pollard's preface shows us many more kings than Edward III and his grandson, Richard, for the present volume is the forerunner of several such collections primarily designed for students who follow the intermediate course in history in the University of London. Well-garnered gleanings from original authorities, the Frenchmen, Le Bel and Froissart, the Latin chroniclers of the Rolls Series, Walsingham, Knighton, Murimuth, and their fellows, and, in generous addition, letters, statutes, and other contemporary documents—all of these accurately Englished—make up the book's sum and substance. The big bow-wow thing of the French war is the editor's chief concern and fills half her space of three hundred pages; while social history, ecclesiastical affairs, and political and constitutional matters claim the remaining illustrations. Nor is all this mere shreds and patches, for due ordering of events and dexterous dovetailing in accord with a unifying purpose give integrity to the collection. Its appeal is only indirectly literary. It would be easy to cull from the records of fourteenth-century life dozens of selections far more significant to the reader of Chaucer, Wiclif, and Langland; but it would not be easy in like small compass to afford the student of history a larger and more direct contact with the active agents, vital issues, and primary facts of a stirring time.

The selections thus justify themselves as "Illustrations of Chaucer's England." But as illustrations *from* Chaucer's England they have a far more intimate value in their constant suggestion of the present world of violent policy and strenuous action. Schedules, letters, and dispatches of Edward III reveal the sinister designs of the mediæval warlord. We see him in his fourteenth-century guise, not merely striking venomously at the heart of France, burning and devastating the country for the space of fourteen leagues around Cambrai, Peronne, and Noyon and along the water of the Oise—names of painful persistence—but spreading all the while in a fashion that some foolishly deem modern, when it is now revived by a like aggressor, clamorous vindications of a war conducted professedly "for the defence of our realm and the recovery, with God's favor, of our right." Did he not "send solemn messengers to the King of France, to offer him whatever he could without great disherison, in order to have peace with him? But the King of France, hardened in his malice, would not agree to peace or talk of peace, etc." Always cruel in deed—sacking fair towns, plundering rich countrysides, deporting worthy citizens—he and his captains ever proclaim God the partner of their crimes: "God our Lord has shown abundant grace." Though the war is greatly to the hurt of the monarch's own people, yet they are as putty in his mailed fingers. "Most dread lord," docilely answer the heavily taxed Commons, "as to your war and the disposing of it, we are so ignorant and simple that we know not and are not able to give counsel thereon, and of this we pray your gracious lordship to hold us excused." Through his clerks the warlord feeds the stay-at-homes with news of his "great successes," grossly exaggerating the number of the enemy, carefully suppressing references to the heavy losses among his own rank and file, and grimly censoring so-called "false rumors or fictions, whereby matters of dissension and discord might easily arise between us and our people." Amid his butcheries, he is blatantly eirenic: "We are, and always have been, ready to accept a reasonable peace, whenever it may be offered us." The offer, which comes straightway, is fair, even generous, but it is "too small to requite so great damage" and "by all means we intend to go forward in the dispatch of our war with God's help." When he forces his enemy to a treaty, Bretigny, like Brest-Litovsk, witnesses a "reasonable peace," teeming with annexations and indemnities—the possession of many lands that the conquering hosts had overrun and a payment of three million gold crowns. Illustrations from Chaucer's England may thus be cited against present England's arch-enemy—as mediæval a war-lord as the greedy invader of fourteenth-century France, with much, indeed, of his feudal spirit and phrase, but quite without his warm gusts of chivalric feeling.

And yet these far-away records breed an introspection that yields no smug self-satisfaction. The same gross forms of selfishness that hamper us now were everywhere rampant then. Graft and profiteering were the commonest manifestations of the deadly sin of avarice. Poets, voicing popular grievances, cried out against corruption in high places, where every man was about to fill his own purse. With equal unction capital protested against the extortions of labor and the exactions of idle servants. The old chronicler, Knighton, tells us that, in the days of pestilence, "if any one wanted to have laborers, he was obliged to lose his fruit and crops, or else satisfy their greed and arrogance." In war time food was sold three times as dear as it was bought. Price-fixing, so that tradesmen "shall have a moderate, not excessive, profit," is the purpose of many a statute, enforced by fines and imprisonment. One ordinance provides that "butchers, fishmongers, brewers, bakers, poulterers, and all other sellers of victuals shall be bound to sell them for a reasonable price"; another that "carpenters, masons, tilers, and other roofers shall not take more for the day for their work than they were accustomed." But it is painfully evident that then, as now, cupidity and trickery ("triche," as old Gower calls it) leaped lightly over all restrictions and regulations. Among the basest of offenders were those who preyed upon officers faring forth to war, "armorers and others who have armor for sale, anticipating the need of the great men and our faithful lieges, who are shortly to set out with us for the defence of the realm, for such armor, and hence attempting to sell all kinds of armor at excessive prices." Are times changed, and we in them? War taxes were frequent—tenths and fifteenths and poundages and polls—as well as enthusiastic voluntary contributions throughout the whole breadth of the realm for the maintenance of this or that expeditionary force. The editor of the "Illustrations" adorns the unvarnished tale of her sources with no morals or modern applications. But it is surely not of "Chaucer's England" that the reader is thinking as he closes the book.

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The Growth of the Sciences

A Short History of Science. By W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.50.

ATTENTION is being turned more and more to the historical development of science. In comparison with the humanities, experimental science is a new subject in education. In the curricula of colleges and universities a century ago systematic study even of physics was not attempted, although it, at least, could claim an ancient and classical origin. Then came the agitation to make both the physical and natural sciences a part of educational discipline. Under the brilliant leadership of Huxley in England these subjects were gradually introduced; and, because of the growth of industrialism, they rapidly attained a dominant position. The pendulum undoubtedly has swung too far. Not only have students of science often adopted an attitude of contempt towards the humanities, but they have imagined that science began in their day and that it was a waste of time to consider the labors of former men in their own subject.

This intolerance of youth is gradually softening. Teachers of science no longer assume that all past work should be dwelt on lightly and that all modern theories are impeccable. They find that if students are taught to view critically the long and noble history of scientific achievement, they will not naïvely champion crude ideas which have been advanced and discarded in the past.

Thus, it is a good sign when we find that courses on the general history of science are being introduced in an increasing number of our colleges and that textbooks for their teaching are being published. Of these, the present one by Professors Sedgwick and Tyler is easily the best in America. It is accurate and well written. The student who uses it in connection with an adequate course of lectures should have a comprehensive knowledge of the growth of the various sciences and a fair idea of their mutual relations. He will have at hand a well-arranged bibliography to tempt him to continue his own reading in this fascinating field.

A very considerable amount of material has been brought together, much of it in extracts from the writings of men of science and from historians. In fact, in many places the authors' share is a mere thread of comment. While this method may have the advantage of making students acquainted with the exact opinions of others, it detracts from the pleasure of reading the book.

Certain weaknesses are almost inevitable in this history. The authors have divided their subject into the two great divisions of the physical and mathematical sciences, which are treated by Professor Tyler, and the natural sciences, for which Professor Sedgwick is responsible. Thus, while each main branch is given as a connected growth, there is little relation between the two. A student would hardly learn that geology is entirely dependent upon physics, mathematics, and astronomy for any general and consistent theory. The historical sciences, if they may be classed as such, are not included. The most serious defect, common to practically all histories of science, is the lack of human interest; the lives of men of science, their work, and the urgent problems which arise from time to time are all treated as if they were things apart from the other issues of the time. One would never suppose that the artistic, literary, and religious renaissance, first in Italy and then throughout Europe, had any influence on the science of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or that science had its reaction on other fields of thought. Thus science appears as something isolated, pursuing its own consistent course and not subject to ideas which retarded or advanced its progress, such as the doctrines of Christian religion and the domination of Catholicism. In time, these chronicles will develop into true criticism, showing the strength and the weakness of scientific progress.

The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus

Eclogues. By Publius Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus. Edited by W. P. Mustard. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. $1.50.

PROF. W. P. MUSTARD has now added to his editions of the Eclogues of Mantuanus and Sannazaro an edition of the Eclogues of two other Latin poets of the Renaissance, viz., Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus. The present volume shows the same excellent workmanship on the part of the editor as his earlier volumes in the series. Andrelinus, who is altogether superior to his companion in this volume, was one of the minor Italian humanists, who, towards the end of the fifteenth century, migrated to France in the hope of improving his fortunes. He spent the last thirty years of his life (1488–1518) in that country, mostly in Paris, where he was admitted to lecture publicly on the humanities at the university. It is of greater interest to our own generation to know that he stood on terms of familiarity with Erasmus, who addressed several letters to him, and even a poem. The wind changed, however, and the great Dutchman, who a short time before had pronounced Andrelinus "immortalitate dignus," expressed wonder that the University of Paris had endured so long a person of such immoral life and mediocre learning.

Andrelinus was the author of several Latin works in prose as well as verse, but the "Bucolica," which Professor Mustard has edited, was published almost complete (eleven out of twelve eclogues) about 1496. Perhaps the most noteworthy innovation of the author was to include among his models and sources not merely the greater Roman poets, but two obscure writers, Calpurnius and Nemesianus, who were very little known even in the Renaissance. His pretended pastorals are, in the main, merely a vehicle for the expression of the hopes and disappointments of a seeker after patronage. The Sicilian muse had travelled far from such charming pictures as that in the First Idyll of Theocritus, of the boy deeply intent on weaving the cage for locusts, while his dinner and the grapes which he has been set to guard are being devoured by the two foxes behind him, or, in the same writer's Seventh Idyll, of that immortal summer's day which, after two thousand years, still had the power to inspire Tennyson to exquisite imitation in "The Gardener's Daughter." Much the best piece in the present collection is the eleventh eclogue—an invective against a rival Italian humanist in France, Hieronymus Balbus, whose morals, if we are to believe Andrelinus, must have been even worse than his own were, according to Erasmus's report. This piece, which has real vigor, illustrates once more the truth of the phrase of the Roman satirist: "Facit indignatio versum." The billingsgate which it contains is drawn from the very best classical sources in such

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matters—Catullus, for instance—and the whole constitutes a document of genuine human interest for the combination of erudition and foul-mouthed scurrility which was so frequent in that age. The tenth eclogue was written just after the author had received his pension from the king, and seems to bear out the truth of his contention in the previous eclogues that a poet could not write well until his applications for patronage had met with a more liberal response.

Of Joannes Arnolletus it is sufficient to say that he was a Frenchman and apparently principal of a school at Nevers at the time (1524) when his pastorals were published. He was an admirer of Andrelinus, drawing freely upon his work. Two of the four eclogues are addressed to Jean Parent, a local notary public, in the vein of "soft dedication" with which, as Pope tells us, the Lord Halifax of Queen Anne's reign was "fed all day long."

An English Gentleman

Further Memories. By Lord Redesdale. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.50 net.

LORD REDESDALE'S "Further Memories" will be a disappointment to those who read his "Memories" with interest and who looked for a new instalment of agreeable autobiographical facts and gossip. It is less a volume of recollections than of literary odds and ends, apparently put together by his executors or friends for the benefit of a public whose appreciation of the first volume sent it through several editions. Mr. Gosse, in an Introduction, explains that, in the course of a long busy life, Redesdale had little leisure to cultivate the art of writing, and we agree that, as a result, "he retained, in spite of all the labor which he expended, a certain stiffness, an air of the amateur." This is felt especially in the opening chapter, "Veluvana," an account of his bamboo garden in the Cotswolds, a subject that calls for either a Lamb or a Stevenson, or else another Elizabeth in her German Garden, to make it a delight to any one save the gardener himself. Lord Redesdale no doubt loved his bamboo grove, but he has not the talent to share his pleasure with his readers or to give them the clue to his love of a garden so out of character with English skies and English landscape. In another chapter a comparison between "Queen Victoria and Maria Theresa," inspired, Mr. Gosse says, "by a feverish perusal" of the "Memoirs of Frau Pichler," shows him to have been till the end the loyal Victorian, blind to the passing of the great Victorian myth during the shorter but more enlightened reign of King Edward. His impressions of "Russia" would carry greater weight if, writing as he was after the beginning of the war, he had not still fancied the strength of Russia against Germany to be based partly on the Russians' "almost fanatical belief in their Church and in the veneration of the great White Czar, who is the head of that Church." The lines were scarcely written before the Czar had been banished and holy places of the Church had been looted. Lord Redesdale's intimate knowledge of one side of life and society in Russia did not open his eyes to the other.

These and similar essays will probably be lightly skimmed and preference given to the chapters on The Commune and The Wallace Collection, both coming legitimately under the title of "Memories." Lord Redesdale was in Paris just after the Commune, while arrests were still being made and men were being shot in the streets. He saw the Tuileries a pile of charred stones, the Ministère des Finances burnt and gutted, its roof fallen in, its windows gaping. Most memorable of all, he was in the Place Vendôme when Courbet, the anarchist in politics as in paint, was being carried off to the prison he justly merited. Lord Redesdale can also write at first hand of Sir Richard Wallace and Sir John Scott, his secretary, and of many persons connected with the Wallace Collection, about whom a good deal of scandal was whispered. Lord Redesdale recalls it with zest, but we wish the collection itself had occupied him as much as the scandal. When it became the property of the nation, he was appointed one of the trustees, and a fuller account of conditions and administration from him would be of value in these days when American collectors are generously bequeathing their treasures to the nation or to municipalities, and sometimes hampering the gift with unwise conditions and restrictions. Hertford House, in Manchester Square, with its large stables, was easily converted into an appropriate and adequate gallery, though the multiplication of galleries and the inevitable repetition to which it leads gave reason to Sir Edward Poynter's plea, if not for the housing of the Spanish paintings in the National Gallery, at least for a new building alongside of the great treasure house in Trafalgar Square. Sir Richard Wallace made certain restrictions, but none so unfortunate as those imposed upon Philadelphia, for example, by Mr. Johnson, whose fine collection must remain in a house too small for it and in a part of the town to which Philadelphians, burdened with the prejudice of years, seldom go. A straight story of the Wallace Collection from one of the trustees might have served as a warning or a model to collectors, American and European.

There is nothing in the book so good as Mr. Gosse's Introduction, which gives a light, graceful impression of a type of Englishman now rapidly passing. Birth, education, associations, tradition, inherited wealth entitled Lord Redesdale to just the sort of life recorded in his "Memories." All the privileges of rank fell to him in a land where, until within comparatively recent times, class distinctions were drawn by a line practically as rigid as any separating castes in India. He had, moreover, the advantage of that fine physique which sometimes makes one think that in England physical privileges, no less than social, are a question of position. He was an unusually handsome man to the last. Mr. Gosse speaks of the lecture, which he is too modest to say he delivered himself, at the Royal Society of Literature when Lord Redesdale presided not long before his death in 1916. We happened to be present and we can answer not only for the "bright eyes" and "ringing voice," but for the tall, upright form and splendid presence of the chairman. He not only had the privileges, but he felt the responsibilities of his rank, and, just as the English gentry of earlier days collected pictures or books, so he patronized literature and dabbled in authorship. Mr. Gosse is right in saying that his "Tales of Old Japan" has become a classic, but this is because it was the author's good fortune to interest himself in Japan before everything Japanese was made the fashion, and to be one of the first in the field. Redesdale's "Memories" will help him to survive as a characteristic type of the days when rank meant everything in England.

It is unpardonable of the publishers not to have provided an index. This is one of the matters which they manage better in England, and we should be surprised if the edition issued there has appeared without one.

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The War from the Rear

The Flying Teuton. By Alice Brown. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Professor Latimer's Progress: A Novel of Contemporaneous Adventure. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

THERE are special qualities in Miss Brown's work which belong, we must admit, to an order that is passing or already past. One is a moral quality, an intense absorption in life as an ethical as well as a spiritual feat; the other is a "literary" quality, a refined and slightly bookish savor. Both are qualities of the old New England, the old Boston so honestly revered, not long ago, by all true-born Americans, and already lapsing into a slightly quaint memory. Grace of style and sensitiveness of feeling are not yet drugs in the market, but they no longer command it in their own right. The "fiction-public," at least, is impatient of moods and forms. An essayist must have something to say, and a novelist something to tell. Miss Brown qualifies as a story-teller, from this point of view. While some of these stories appeared in *Harper's, Scribner's,* and the *Atlantic,* which may be held to have a tender spot for the older tradition, others were first printed in *Collier's* and *Everybody's.* There is a suggestion of intent to escape from the bounds of her own delicate and feminine and literary habit through the use in five of the present narratives of a brusque mannish vernacular. Mannish one must say, not masculine, for it remains a skilfully donned costume rather than a disguise. The tales are as clearly hall-marked with the writer's eager feminine transcendentalism as those which are told in her own natural voice, such as "The Torch of Life," "The Flags on the Tower," and "Nemesis." Four of the man-told stories are, as it were, out of the war. In "The Island" two American lovers whose ship has been torpedoed off the Irish coast cease from human consciousness and wake together upon a mystical island, peopled by British dead, all very busy for England: "her invisible colonies . . . round her like a guard of not mere human steel, but heavenly fire." Germany, the lovers agree, can have no such invisible cohorts fighting for her. "Just think," says the girl, "what it must be for the dead Germans, not bound, as we are, to a just and wonderful cause. They've got to know they can't help. It wouldn't be permitted. They can only pray and suffer shame." "The Empire of Death" and "The Flying Teuton" have also their special morals for the German enemy of mankind. The one represents a wanton slayer of the trees of France condemned to be half-smothered forever in a hell of foliage and blossom; the other shows a Germany permitted by men to resume her commerce after the war, but inhibited by the powers of God or Nature. Her ships are to be forever invisible and intangible upon the seas, nor can their engines bring them into any foreign port. In all this one feels a sort of ruthlessness, a degree of moral ferocity towards the hateful foe, such as women, the gentlest of women rather than the most determined of men, have in all times shown towards the hateful foe. We feel more easy with Miss Brown (and this may be a sign of her force and our weakness) when she is not expressing her passionate conviction that her enemy, and ours, is by now eternally damned. We are safe in saying, at least, that there is more of art as well as less of flushed emotion in most of the other stories in this collection.

The war has produced no book like "Professor Latimer's Progress," with its sanative masculine blend of deep feeling, fluid intelligence, and heart-easing mirth. It rises like a modest, kindly beacon amidst the flood of belligerent documents that flow back from the front and of impassioned commentaries that well up in the rear. The sub-title has a sly double meaning. On its unassuming surface this is a tale of the road, with the immortal picaresque ingredients of wandering maidens, philosophic tinkers, wayside bullies, and the inevitable ordeal by fisticuffs. And taken at this its face value it is a delightful bit of whimsy, its action as pleasantly preposterous as it should be, and its people a joyous company of mortals who have for the moment escaped the trammels of convention. But it is far more than this—a spiritual adventure, the adventure of the American soul in search of a new foothold in a tottering world. Our retired Professor Latimer, a man of full mental and physical habit, has been nearly done for by the war. Since August, 1914, he has been hard to live with. From the first the war has "laid hold of his soul's peace and put it to the rack. Every campaign in the three continents has been fought simultaneously somewhere in Latimer. His heart was seldom out of the trenches. The war had mobilized him more completely than if it had placed a rifle in his hands and sent him to the firing line. . . . He woke nights, lest Russia conclude a separate peace. He hurt his digestion by thinking suddenly of Bethmann-Hollweg." His physician and his wife finally take him in hand and send him off to the country, with instructions to live in the open and to read, think, or talk nothing about the war. So his adventures begin. They consist largely, to tell the truth, in thought and speech about the war. At first he is adrift and embittered; his bewilderment as to the main issue seeks escape in violent dogmatism upon matters of detail. His mind turns and twists; he despises himself as an old man still drifting like youth: "Too sentimental, too sincere; an ancient arteriosclerotic baby." By degrees, as he succeeds in abandoning himself, relatively, to the influences and encounters of the road, his sense of irritated impotence diminishes. Always and to every one he talks, and from them or through them as listeners he insensibly works his way towards peace of mind. He sees how futile it is to try to take the world upon his own shoulders, and to fight the war alone. He sees that there are greater forces at work than any single mind can grasp, and that somehow good *must* come out of all the evil of the hour. After all his eloquence, he puts the thing very modestly and simply in the end: "I think, perhaps, I understand the war better, and what I don't, I am willing to take on trust. As I see it now, the trouble with me in town was that I looked at the world through an opera-glass, as if I were the only spectator, for whom the whole show was set. The eye-strain gave me a headache. I have learned to look at smaller and nearer things and with a narrowed vision, and it's been good for me." So much for Latimer and the war—a sufficiently large theme for a book which is by no means large as novels go. It contains, after all, a great deal else, about other matters that still concern us Latimers in spite of the war: journalism, industrialism, feminism, sociology, criminology, and what not; all touched with the lightest, firmest wand of constructive satire. We have so many books of document, of animus, or argument: what a refreshment to fall in, for once in a way, with a book of that quiet creative humor whose "other name" is wisdom.

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Notes

B. W. HUEBSCH will publish this month "Horizons," by Francis Hackett; "Three Plays," by David Pinski.

Harper & Brothers announce that they will publish immediately: "The Girl in His House," by Harold MacGrath; "Puss in Boots, Jr., in Fairyland" and "Travels of Puss in Boots, Jr.," both volumes by David Cory; "Worrying Won't Win," by Montague Glass; "War Gardens," by Montague Free.

MUSIC in America is one of the topics discussed in "Excursions in Musical History" (New York: H. W. Gray Co.), by Helen A. Dickinson and Clarence Dickinson; and as Mr. Dickinson is one of the foremost American organists, one is not surprised to find in this book an authoritative chapter on the history of the instrument he has mastered. He believes that few things have done so much for the development of the organ as transcribing for it the great works for orchestra. Musical affairs at the courts of Louis XV, Frederick the Great, and Elizabeth are discussed in other sections. Tribute is paid to fifteen famous members of the most musical family that ever lived: the Bachs. The authors also discourse entertainingly on spiritual folksongs and the influence on music of the Reformation and other great religious movements.

SOMEWHAT after the manner in which Macaulay wrote his brilliant essays for the *Edinburgh*, Mr. George Whibley has been writing sketches of various worthies from Shakespeare to the eighth Duke of Devonshire for the *Fortnightly*. The best of these are republished as "Political Portraits" (Macmillan; $2.50 net). While much briefer than Macaulay's "Clive" or "Frederick," Mr. Whibley's "Gilbert Burnet"—one of his best—shows painstaking and effective character painting. Less of a political pamphleteer than the great Whig historian, Mr. Whibley has a bit more humor and a much more catholic perspective. Only in his portrait of "The Crowned Philosopher" does he fall below his usual high level; in this picture of Frederick the Great, based on the recently published memoirs of De Catt, he lacks the masterly touch which Lord Rosebery gives to the portrait of Frederick which is prefixed to the English edition of these same memoirs. The principal other figures with whom this volume deals are Wolsey, the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Newcastle, C. J. Fox, Melbourne, Sir James Graham, the Corn Law leaders, and, on the Continent, Napoleon, Talleyrand, Metternich, and Alexander I of Russia.

ALMOST helpful bibliographical aid to all students and teachers of the Middle Ages as well as to librarians is Louis J. Paetow's "Guide to the Study of Mediæval History" (University of California Syllabus Series; $2). Being an outgrowth of a syllabus which the author has used, it has the advantage of having had the practical test of several years of class use. It is made up of three parts. The first is a well-selected critical list of a thousand general works and learned collections which are of most value for the study of mediæval history. These are the works with which librarians ought to aim to equip university libraries. The second part is a full topical outline of lecture headings on European history from the fall of Rome to the Protestant Reformation, accompanied by references to reading adapted to the needs both of undergraduate and graduate students. The third part consists of a similar outline of lectures and bibliographies for a course for advanced students on "Mediæval Culture." The value of a book of this kind depends largely on the author's catholicity of outlook and on the judgment and accuracy with which the bibliographical references are made; in these respects Mr. Paetow's work is thoroughly satisfactory.

AN interesting narrative of a bygone day is reprinted in "The Indian Captivity of O. M. Spencer," edited by Milo M. Quaife for the Lakeside Classics (Chicago: Donnelley). Spencer's narrative, which appeared first in 1834 and in several subsequent editions, recounts his capture in 1792 by two Indians, a Shawnee and a Mohawk, who became his masters, while, as a boy of about twelve, he was making his way with a party down the Ohio from Cincinnati to his home in Columbia. The story of his months of captivity, during which he was carried almost to the shore of Lake Erie, is plainly set forth, with just a touch of religious unction. In spite of hardships endured no less at the hands of the white men who effected his rescue than from his savage captors, Spencer seems to have had, at least as he looked back, some sense of a not wholly unpleasant experience. It is an interesting glimpse of the frontier just after the Revolution.

PROF. GEORGE A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College, has placed the thoughtful world of general readers under great obligation with his recent volume on "The Religions of the World" (University of Chicago Press; $1.50 net). It is the fruitage of many years of technical research combined with an interesting practical experience in the teaching of religion to students. Intended primarily for class-room use, it is broken up into definite, consecutively numbered paragraphs which may at first repel the general reader, yet the volume is one of uncommon usefulness for any reader who desires to be guided through the technicalities of each religion to its essential content and expression. The work is distinguishable from most of the books devoted to the comparison of religions by its emphasis of essentials, its untechnical descriptions, and its comprehensiveness. It reads interestingly and yet is entirely true to scientific progress. Each chapter devoted to a religion begins with several aptly quoted citations from the historical literature of that religion and closes with excellent suggestions for further reading on the special theme of each numbered paragraph. For class-room purposes it would be difficult to suggest a better book, yet few general students of religion will fail to find stimulating suggestions. Dr. Barton has one qualification for such a task which is often missing from those who undertake the study of religion. He has a marked religious spirit and a deep sympathy for those who are religious in temperament which prevents his judgments from being absolutely cold-blooded and repellent. He is more the interpreter than the critic. In view of the class of people to whom the volume will appeal, the closing paragraphs of each chapter seem least commendable. Professor Barton is almost too brief in summing up the elements of value and of weakness in each historic faith. Yet many will prefer to draw their own comparisons, and the work with its close fidelity to historical data and its clarification of the various elements to be given consideration goes far towards

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making a sane and sound judgment possible. The University of Chicago Press may be congratulated on this worthy companion to Professor Coe's "The Psychology of Religion." The two together make a library.

"IN what respects does the law as it now stands facilitate or obstruct the city in its endeavor to apply this or that new policy to the solution of an existing problem?" This is the question which Dr. Howard Lee McBain, Eaton Professor of Municipal Science and Administration in Columbia University, asks and answers in his "American City Progress and the Law" (Columbia University Press; $1 net). The result is a book which no one interested in municipal government can afford to neglect. In many important particulars the judges of our State and Federal courts are, for the time being at least, powerful city officials. The legal theory that the judges are merely interpreters of the language of municipal charters and of the State or Federal Constitution may satisfy those whom William James called the "tender-minded." But the "tough-minded" will insist on knowing what is really so. Dr. McBain gives them the facts. The courts have said that cities can do this and this, that they cannot do that and that. They can give public money to railroads, but not to manufacturers. They can regulate the height of buildings to insure safety, but not to make the city beautiful. They can take by eminent domain the land they need for a public improvement, but they cannot as a rule recoup themselves for their expenditure by taking the adjoining land which that public improvement enhances in value. The tender-minded will wonder why we need a law book to tell us these things. Are they not known by every user of the English language who reads in our Constitutions that no one shall be deprived of property without due process of law, and that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation? Unfortunately the problem is not so simple. And Dr. McBain's book, though it is little concerned with general problems of jurisprudence, shows why it is not so simple. The author has collected and analyzed many judicial opinions. His exhaustive research, clear thinking, and lucid exposition have made a lawbook which lawyers and laymen alike can read to their profit and enjoyment. It shows us where we are; it indicates in considerable measure whither we are tending. It is not concerned to tell us what to do. But those who know what to do can learn from Professor McBain how to do it—what policies will require amendments of city charters, what programmes will necessitate revision of the State or Federal Constitution, and what proposals may become effective as soon as the municipal authorities can be induced to pass the requisite ordinance.

PROF. CHARLES C. PEARSON'S "Readjuster Movement in Virginia" (Yale University Press; $2 net), while traversing ground already gone over by two or three recent students of the period, supplements previous accounts of *post-bellum* Virginia by its emphasis upon the broad political and social characteristics of the movement of which it treats. Originating in the circumstances of financial and industrial depression which followed the breakdown of Republican reconstruction, the Readjuster movement sought to compel the creditors of the State to share in the financial losses which the Civil War and Reconstruction had combined to entail. Politically, it represented a radical revolt against conservatism, opposition for a time between the eastern and western sections of the State, and, ultimately, the elimination of the negro as a voter. Socially, it aimed at a democratization of government through a readjustment of taxation, the abolition of special privileges enjoyed by holders of State bonds and by favored groups of politicians, and the improvement of economic conditions generally; but the methods of its leaders, "mainly self-made men of the middle class, marked by energy and political shrewdness," "included agitation, disregard of precedent and judicial decisions, a spoils organization, and, eventually, a boss." In its relation to national politics, Readjustment stood midway between the Greenback movement, to which it owed something of its origin, and Populism, for which it prepared the way. Professor Pearson disclaims the intention of offering a special study either of the Virginia debt question or of the Mahone political machine, but his monograph nevertheless adds materially to a fuller understanding of both.

IN view of the present-day interest in shipping as a fundamental factor in the successful prosecution of the great war by the Allies, the small volume by Edgar Crammond entitled "The British Shipping Industry" (Dutton; 60 cents net) is most timely. An important influence prompting the author to prepare the work was the fear that, as the energies of the nation have, for some time, been devoted to the creation and maintenance of a large army, the great mass of the British people, unmindful of the important part played by the merchant marine in the past and present, might press for the adoption of a reactionary policy towards the nation's shipping industry. Such a policy, it is contended, would be disastrous, for no country is as dependent as Britain upon sea-borne trade. About one-half of the nation's food supply must be imported in normal times, as well as practically all the raw materials upon which the great manufacturing industries depend for their very existence. Moreover, whatever the outcome of the war, the future of Britain lies largely upon the seas, and the possession of an adequate merchant marine is of paramount importance to the continuance of a sound national life. The volume is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the function of the merchant marine in the economic life of the Empire before the outbreak of the war, the indispensable service which it has rendered the nation and its allies during the war, and the future of the British shipping industry. The author expresses the hope that a department of state may be created on a permanent basis for the purpose of directing and fostering the industry. He argues against the nationalization of shipping, believing that if it is to maintain its enviable position among the nations, the actual workings of the industry

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should be left mainly in the hands of the men who have achieved a large measure of success in developing it to its present efficiency. In the words of the author, "A strong, prosperous shipping industry working in the closest agreement with the State is one of the greatest national assets which the Empire can possess, and this is the objective for which we should aim." In conclusion, a tribute is paid to the officers and men of the Royal Navy and of the mercantile marine for the important service which they have rendered in the great war.

Art

American Architecture in a World at War

By TALBOT FAULKNER HAMLIN

THE recent exhibition of the Architectural League in New York furnished a welcome opportunity of judging the status of American architecture in this year of war. It was a particularly fruitful opportunity because it showed stark and unashamed certain tendencies in modern American art which are growing continually stronger, until they seem likely before long to dominate it entirely.

The exhibition appeared in a new form. Behind two galleries filled with the work of decorative painters and interior decorators, the small kernel of architecture was ensconced in the Vanderbilt gallery, relegated to an aisle behind tawny plaster columns. The effect was of architecture smothered by a colorful, purposeless splendor, reminiscent alike of Bakst and of Broadway.

Public monuments might be out of place in such theatrical surroundings, but there were few public buildings of any kind. Views of two recent state capitols, a few college buildings, a school or two—that was all. The rest was an exhibition of palaces: Gothic, Italian, French, Georgian. The medal of honor went to a palace. One was amazed at them; not only at the skill with which they were planned, but also at the artistic vision which had conceived at least some of them in such exquisite beauty and executed them with such faultless taste. All the architectural skill of the country that has during the last decades made our monumental architecture the finest in the world has been apparently devoted in this year of world agony to the production of palaces for millionaires.

Does not this exhibition of palaces and their furnishings, splendid furniture and gorgeous textiles, despite all the clever craftsmanship, despite all its rich setting, display a queer blindness in the architectural profession? Is there not some finer work for it than this? It was said that the purpose of the exhibition was to show the interdependence of architecture and the allied arts and crafts, thereby educating popular taste. But architecture has always been sumptuously furnished in homes such as those shown; it is in the tenement and the suburban cottage that decorative art is unknown, and for the tenement dweller or the suburbanite there was little inspiration—merely an ironical lesson, instead, in the way "the other half lives."

And as for taste—have we not yet learned that the only real taste is rooted in world life and thought? Can we not realize that a drab life makes crude taste? All the drabness of shop and factory, shipyard and railway terminal, tenement and hovel, the by-product of industrial greed, does more to form our national taste than countless exhibitions. To attempt the improvement of popular taste by an exhibition of palaces and brocade-upholstered Louis XVI bedsteads is an insult to common intelligence.

Moreover, there is, in a taste simply for the wealthy, and not for the many, too much of patronage, too much of personality. It is too untrammelled, too subject to fashions. Mere luxury—a sort of sensual delight in texture and color—is likely to compete with or dominate reasoned beauty; and in our day, with the past brought so close by books and photographs, clever adaptation is all too ready to take the place of true creation. Is not this one of the reasons for the frequent failure of our art? Creation demands vision, enthusiasm, something of the divine; this may come with the design of public buildings, or of tenements and suburban housing developments, but in the catering to the wealth of a fortunate few there can be none at all. Our public architecture may be the greatest there is; our domestic architecture is becoming the apotheosis of wealth.

Yet housing problems have been occupying space in the papers for months. The entire exhibit showed but two housing developments, neither featured, and one prepared for a corporation famed for its tory labor record! One thought of the thousands of homes that have arisen in England during her agony, beautiful, simple, inexpensive, to enrich her life for years to come; many built entirely by coöperative effort. One saw the institutes, the schools, all the carefully planned paraphernalia of common existence, beautified and enriched by creative art. Between that record and this array of palaces what a gulf there is!

In the world that is coming, the artist's work must be the enriching of the lives of the many, not of the few. This the architectural exhibit absolutely failed to appreciate, and this failure is a symptom of a national failing. Meanwhile the exhibition has pushed one step farther the all too prevalent notion that art is only a luxury, and beauty is to be purchased only with much wealth. As long as artists treat art as a luxury, just so long will tenements and housing developments continue ugly. And just so long will the artists be furnishing justification for such dicta as that of a famous Mayor: "You art artists had better take a vacation till the end of the war." The tragedy of it is that the exhibition was a great "success."

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Drama

The Spring Revivals

BY a custom that has now attained the dignity of a tradition, spring is the established period for "revivals" in New York, but the results are rarely as gratifying as this season. Up to April the sum of the year's theatrical achievement was small and unimpressive. Save for Miss Anglin's season in Greek tragedy, with its clear call of the eternal human across the centuries, there was little truth and less poetry offered on our stage. But then came a half-dozen plays of Shakespeare by the Shakespeare Playhouse, and Miss Laurette Taylor's audacious venture into special Shakespearean scenes; the Ibsen season, with "The Wild Duck," "Hedda Gabler," and "A Doll's House"; the revival, by the Washington Square Players, of Shaw's "Mrs. Warren's Profession" and Wilde's "Salome"; Miss Edith Wynne Matthison's production of Charles R. Kennedy's "A Servant in the House"; and last of all, Sydney Grundy's "A Marriage of Convenience" at Henry Miller's beautiful new theatre. A student of the drama from Mars or Oshkosh who came to New York in April would form an unduly high opinion of our dramatic achievement, if he judged the season by its latter end.

In bringing to the notice of present-day theatregoers a successful artificial comedy of twenty years ago, Mr. Henry Miller has performed a graceful service gracefully. Sydney Grundy's "A Marriage of Convenience," adapted for the English stage from "Un Mariage sous Louis XV" by Alexandre Dumas *fils*, is not new to our stage, for in 1897 Mr. John Drew and Miss Isabel Irving appeared in the rôles made popular in London by Mr. Cyril Maude and Miss Winifred Emery. Although Grundy's reputation has dwindled with the years like that of so many late Victorians, he is, at his best, a clever craftsman, while at his worst he is a mere manufacturer of theatrical contrivances. Here he has achieved a workmanlike success in which one can study the formal French comedy of the late nineteenth century with pleasure in its skill and admiration of its decorative qualities, even though its plot is tenuous, its intrigue childish, and its manner self-consciously artificial. The characters, as unreal and as charming as the figures on a fan, have such delightful airs and display such finished graces that one accepts the banal little story with genuine pleasure in its surface charm. Such plays are not destined to reach the mind or the heart, they are mere instruments of amusement. Miss Billie Burke, in passing from moving pictures to the courtly atmosphere of Louis Quinze, comes off surprisingly well. Her modern ingénue manner and infantile affectations are subdued beneath a towering powdered wig and voluminous crinolines; and no lovelier embodiment of the gracious, heartless, frivolous lady of the *ancien régime* could be desired to foreshadow that deluge that swept a world of well-bred, insolent nothingness to its doom. Mr. Miller, a bit heavy and settled-looking as the gay Comte de Candale, none the less cuts a dashing figure in a succession of beautiful costumes, and goes through the empty gestures of his rôle with his accustomed skill. If not particularly worth doing, the play is surprisingly well done—a triumph of external perfection.

More than a mere generation intervenes between the pretty artifice of "Un Mariage sous Louis XV" and the stark truth of that other marriage of convenience, "A Doll's House," now being produced by Mr. Arthur Hopkins at the Plymouth Theatre with Madame Nazimova as Nora. A whole new world of life and of the theatre has been opened up since Ibsen launched this study of disillusionment after marriage and the beginning of an individual life for the married doll. There is no need to analyze Madame Nazimova's Nora in detail now. If she still stresses externals and falls into the artistic vice of exaggerating Nora's early gayety to the point of silliness and her clothes to grotesqueness, she is profoundly sincere and poignant in showing the awakening of this child-wife's spirit to a realization of the character of the petty being with whom she has lived eight years. Nora is still one of Madame Nazimova's finest achievements, far above her theatrical caricature of Hedda Gabler. Mr. Lionel Atwill, who succeeded so well as Hjalmar Ekdal, has now gone the way of so many actors in playing for points. He exaggerated the folly of George Tesman as Madame Nazimova exaggerated the vampire quality in Hedda. Here he makes the fatuous egotism of Helmers too obvious, since Ibsen was drawing merely the ordinary, middle-class man, vain and sentimental, masquerading his petty tyranny as strength.

That curious and successful experiment in the field of the strange and terrible, Oscar Wilde's one-act poetic tragedy, "Salome," is now being performed at the Comedy with a cast of "guest" players. Written in French for Sarah Bernhardt and later seized upon as material for opera by that morbid genius, Richard Strauss, its sensational success in New York with Mary Garden as the daughter of Herodias will be remembered. Without the scenic and musical embellishments of its former production, this *tour de force* is still as harrowing in its horror as its author intended. On the moonlighted terrace in the court of Herod, a scene designed with artistic discretion for the small stage of the Comedy Theatre by Mr. Rollo Peters, these creatures of Oriental passion and erotic perversion, conceived to exhaust the nerves and cause a shudder of revulsion, achieve their end. Mr. Walter Hampden's Jokanaan, a being of mystery and power, appeals to the imagination, but his monotonous chant, though filled with prophetic fervor, suffers from the fatal American nasal tone. Mr. Louis Calvert's Herod is an extraordinary study of the Tetrarch of Judea—a curious compound of gross voluptuousness, Oriental dignity, and superstitious fear. Madame Yorska is not particularly fortunate in conveying the cold sensuality of Salome, and her dance is decidedly not worth half the kingdom that Herod so rashly promised. But, at the end of the play, in expressing Salome's inhuman passion over the head of the prophet, she succeeds in evoking such loathing that the audience feels a tremor of relief when Herod's order "Kill that woman!" cleaves the darkness. M. C. D.

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Finance

Before and After a War Loan

THE rise of prices late last week was a reminiscence to some people of the rise in prices for a few days just before subscriptions to the second Liberty Loan came to a close. Since the outbreak of war, Wall Street has manifested sometimes a great deal of concern and sometimes gorgeous expectations for the effects of Liberty Loans on the market. When the first loan was offered, in May, 1917, it was a widespread theory in the financial district that the campaign would be accompanied by a stirring bull market. One was almost tempted to think that Stock Exchange people looked for the Government itself to provide one. It was "necessary" to have a bull market in order "to get everybody feeling good," so that everybody would subscribe for the loan. Traders reasoned by analogy from stocks in the market. One could not float a $2,000,000,000 bond issue in an atmosphere of depression and decline. People would grow suspicious of the stability of the country's business, and hence of its bonds; and if prices fell, there would be no profits to subscribe to the loan.

As coincidence would have it, prices actually did rise during the first loan campaign, and very handsomely. In the first three weeks of the campaign, that is, from the week ending May 12 to the week ending June 9, the market advanced some 10 to 15 points. Steel common rose from 116 to 131⅞, Reading from 86⅜ to 95¾, Union Pacific from 132¾ to 137½, Anaconda from 77¾ to 86, Crucible Steel from 87½ to 101¼. During the final week of the campaign prices remained about on the same level.

It is small wonder, therefore, that many traders looked for a corresponding market prior to the second loan, and that the same theories held sway on the inevitability of bull markets during loan campaigns. Prices had had a severe shakedown in the meantime, but that only strengthened the opinion that the fall must now stop; the adjustment to a war basis had already been made, and a great loan could not be floated if the decline continued. But the decline did continue. From the week ending September 29 to the week ending October 20, the first three weeks of the offering, United States Steel declined from 109⅜ to 106¾, Reading from 81½ to 76⅞, Union Pacific from 128⅞ to 124, Anaconda from 71⅝ to 64¾, Crucible Steel from 71⅜ to 69, Mexican Petroleum from 92¾ to 87. In the early part of the last week of the campaign the decline went on, but in the last few days there was a recovery, so that prices were left about where they had been at the beginning of the week.

The subscription period just closed has differed from either of the two previous ones in that prices went neither decidedly up nor decidedly down, but hung about on the same level. The rise on Wednesday and Thursday of last week brought prices of the half-dozen selected stocks at their top levels to about where they were on April 6, the day the campaign opened. The exception was United States Steel, which at its top price last week was 98½, compared with 91¾ a month ago.

The question in which Wall Street is now interested is the course of prices, now that the campaign has closed. There is a tendency to look for a rise, as there always is, and the theory runs that the market has been ready to go up, but that it has been held back by Wall Street's absorption in the Liberty Loan; and now that it is over, speculative funds will again be freed for the market, and an advance will come. The rise of United States Steel on Monday to par, a new high price for the year, has lent support to this view. But the precedents do not support it. In the month following the closing of subscriptions to the first war loan, United States Steel fell from 131 to 123, Reading from 97⅜ to 96⅞, Union Pacific from 137⅝ to 135¾, Anaconda from 84¼ to 78⅝, Mexican Petroleum from 98 to 97. And in the very next week after the closing of the second war loan, United States Steel dropped 11⅛ points, Reading 9, Union Pacific 6¼, Anaconda 8⅜, Crucible Steel 11⅛, Mexican Petroleum 8¾; while, after a month had passed, the declines in several issues had extended several points further.

All this, taken by itself, would seem to lend color to the theory that the market in the first two loans was artificially supported, either for sentimental or practical reasons, while the subsequent decline was merely the unloading of the interests that had supported it. But certainly it would have been gratuitous to "support" a market by actually bidding it up 10 to 15 points, as in the first loan, and the week following the second loan was the week of the Italian disaster. The market during the recent subscription period revealed no symptoms whatever of artificial support.

The truth seems to be that, just as the three Liberty Loans provide no precedent for market movements during a loan campaign, for the simple reason that the market has acted differently during each period, so no precedents can be depended on for market movements after a loan. That Liberty Loans affect security values, no one doubts. The current error lies in the assumption that their effect on values takes place during or immediately before or after the period during which the loans are being floated.

As a fact, their influence is spread over the whole war period, and a war loan may be discounted three months before it is floated just as well as at the time. Other events and circumstances seemingly affect markets quite as much while a loan campaign is going on as while it is not. Between June 16, 1917, when the first loan had closed, and September 29, before the second loan opened, Steel common had fallen 21⅝ points, Reading 15⅞, Union Pacific 8¾, Anaconda 9⅝, Crucible Steel 9¾, and Mexican Petroleum 5¼. But the swing had very nearly reached its low point in the week following the second loan, and between then and April 6, this year, Reading had gone from 66 to 82, Union Pacific from 114 to 120⅛, Anaconda from 56⅛ to 64, Crucible Steel from 56½ to 63⅛, and Mexican Petroleum from 78¾ to 94⅞. Only United States Steel had fallen some 3 points, but that was more than made up last week.

HENRY HAZLITT

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

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Cronyn, G. The Sandbar Queen. New York: Arens. 35 cents.

Holt, F. T. They the Crucified and Comrades. Houghton Mifflin. $1.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Henry, M. Beyond the Rhine. Dodd, Mead. $2.50 net.

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Wood, E. O. Historic Mackinac. Two volumes. Macmillan. $12.50 per set.

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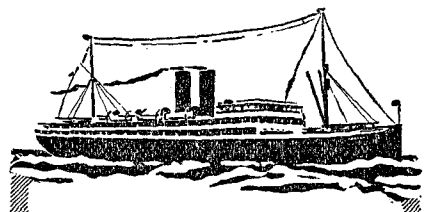

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Summary of the News

THE sixth and seventh weeks of the battle on the western front have not achieved an appreciable change in the situation. On April 29 Gen. von Arnim's divisions suffered a severe check in the region of the Lys-Ypres salient, with severe losses in men. The French by this engagement regained possession of Locre, west of Mount Kemmel, and the Allied forces pushed forward to the east and northeast of Locre. While reorganizing their divisions here, the enemy showed increased activity on the Somme and around the Montdidier salient to Noyon in an endeavor to find a weak spot in the Allied line. An attack launched against the American troops near Villers-Bretonneux was repulsed with heavy losses, and the Allied troops advanced appreciably. On May 4 the greatest activity was again shifted to the north, with intense bombardment on the Flanders front between Locre and Ypres. Here, in the course of a successful operation, the Franco-British forces advanced their positions to a depth of 500 yards, and, according to reports of May 5, also improved their positions east of Amiens and north of Albert. No action of decisive importance, however, has occurred thus far during May.

ITALY is again the scene of heavy fighting on the front between the Adriatic and the Giudicaria Valley. Increased military activity along the Austro-Italian lines has been reported repeatedly during the first week in May, but whether this foretells a renewed Austrian offensive on a large scale is uncertain at the moment. The official announcement from Vienna that Emperor Charles of Austria and a number of high Austrian and German officers reached the Italian front on May 4 and the movement of troops in the Trentino and Tyrol seem, however, to indicate that this long-predicted offensive will soon begin.

RUMORS of a renewed peace offensive also continue to grow, but apparently with little authentic information to give them value. The Emperor of Austria is reported to have made an offer of peace to Italy, the Pope is said to have a more urgent peace note ready to send to all the belligerents in May, and Prince Sixtus, the Austrian Emperor's brother-in-law, is said to have made a secret visit to the King of Spain in connection with new peace manœuvres. An emissary of Germany's peace offensive, a Dutch financier, is reported to be in London, and Gen. von Ludendorff is even named by certain members of the British press as being the sponsor of this present peace offer that is to include the restoration of Belgium and Serbia, a revision of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, a return of the German colonies, and acceptance of the principle of no annexations and no indemnities. It is needless to add that no official confirmation of such statements has come from any government.

THE Russian situation continues to cause grave concern in Allied circles. Lord Robert Cecil's view that, if Germany becomes firmly established in Russia, she can hold her own against the world forever, represents the diplomacy in favor of immediate Japanese intervention in Siberia. Meanwhile the Bolsheviki, through Foreign Minister Tchitcherin, have addressed to the representatives of the Allied Governments in Moscow a request to recall their Consuls at Vladivostok and to investigate their alleged participation in negotiations conducted at Peking with the counter-revolutionary organization calling itself the "Siberian Government" and seeking the establishment of an autonomous government in Siberia. M. Tchitcherin has also addressed to the Japanese representative in Moscow a communication charging that certain letters that have been seized establish the extensive participation of Japanese officials in counter-revolutionary movements, in spite of Japan's official assurances of a policy of non-interference in Russia's internal affairs.

SEBASTOPOL, the famous Russian fortress in the Crimea, has been occupied by the Germans without resistance. This will enable them to control the northern littoral of the Black Sea from Bessarabia to Caucasia, where the Turks hold possession. As the enemy have occupied Odessa since February 8, and now have established military rule in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, their dominance in southern Russia is supreme. It is also reported that revolting Ukrainian peasants have overthrown the Rada and established a new government, virtually a dictatorship. The friendliness of this new government to the Central Powers was affirmed by the Imperial German Vice-Chancellor, Friedrich von Payer, before the Reichstag on May 3.

IRISH conscription, postponed originally to May 1, has again been indefinitely postponed, owing to serious difficulties created for the Government by the opposition of Nationalists and Unionists alike. The deliberations of the committee appointed to draft a Home Rule bill are held up on the issue of giving veto power to Ulster over legislation affecting it exclusively, and also by past Ministerial promises to Ulster. The official announcement of the appointment of Field-Marshal French as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to succeed Lord Wimborne, and of Edward Shortt, member of the House of Commons for Newcastle-on-Tyne, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, was issued on May 5. As Viscount French was responsible for the guarantee given to army officers in Ireland in 1914 that they should not be required to serve against Ulster—an arrangement repudiated by the Asquith Government—his appointment may be considered a concession to the Ulster faction, and will probably be unpopular with the Irish people. Meetings of the Irish Unionist Alliance in Dublin and of the standing committee of the Ulster Unionist Council indicate a stiffening of the Unionists against Home Rule, with Sir Edward Carson once more their spokesman.

PERSIA is another small country that has expressed its belief in the principle of self-determination. It has sent to neutral Holland a note declaring that it regards as null and void all treaties imposed on Persia in recent years, and especially the Russo-British treaty of 1907, regarding British and Russian spheres of influence in Persia. Other treaties may be revised later, but that of 1907 is definitely annulled, according to this communication from the Persian Government. It will be remembered that in 1907 the British and Russians marked out certain spheres of influence adjoining the British and Russian frontiers respectively, leaving a neutral sphere between of about 188,000 square miles.

MESOPOTAMIA has been the scene of military advances by British troops during the past week. British cavalry overtook the Turks on the road from Bagdad to Mosul, inflicting heavy losses in men and material. Another expedition northeast of Jerusalem was successful in capturing Es-Salt. The drive towards Mosul was made necessary to protect the flank of the British forces on the Euphrates before it could proceed to the west to reach the rear of the Turco-German forces in Palestine. At present British manœuvres threaten to cut the Turkish communications with Constantinople.

AMERICAN shipyards in April produced 240,000 tons dead-weight, an approximate increase of 50 per cent. over March, although the launchings have not reached the maximum hoped for. An official statement made by the Bureau of Navigation for April explains that this means that on twenty-six working days an average of over 9,000 tons of ship construction was turned out. The work of construction in the 130 yards now in operation is so vast that reinforcement of shipbuilding organization throughout the country will be required. In spite of this promising achievement, Bainbridge Colby, member of the United States Shipping Board, declared that in 1917 German submarines sank nearly 11,000,000 dead-weight tons of shipping, and that they are to-day sinking ships faster than they are being built. During April the sinkings exceeded the combined tonnage built by Great Britain and the United States during that month. The only way he suggested to cope with this destruction was to build more and more ships. Meanwhile Great Britain announces that a mine field to cover about 120,000 square miles will be laid in the North Sea, the base forming a line between Norway and Scotland, the apex extending into the Arctic Circle. This measure, to be completed by May 15, is thought to be what Admiral Jellicoe had in mind when he prophesied that the submarine menace would be met by August.

THE third Liberty Loan total cannot be officially announced until after May 13, but incomplete returns now indicate that the subscriptions will exceed $3,300,000,000, and that approximately 17,000,000 bought bonds. While the volume of sales will probably be under the total of the second Liberty Loan, its distribution among the people of the United States is wider.

THE United States during the past week has seen the progress of several war measures. The Senate, by a vote of 48 to 26, accepted the Sedition bill, penalizing disloyal utterances and efforts to hinder the prosecution of the war, and the measure now goes to the House. An inquiry into aviation activities is also to be made in the House, with a thorough investigation into the causes that have operated against the production of airplanes thus far. Various measures have been introduced in Congress to draft from 1,500,000 to several million men, and it was announced that as soon as the War Department has finished its survey of transportation facilities, Secretary of War Baker would ask Congress for authorization to mobilize as many men as can be equipped and trained for the front.

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